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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XXIII—OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1932—No. 4

EVIDENCES OF SCOTT'S INDEBTEDNESS TO SPANISH LITERATURE

WHILE it is doubtless true, as has been made evident by the studies of P. H. Churchman, E. Allison Peers and others on the influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain, that Spanish literature owes much to the Romantic models afforded by Scott, it is a matter of legitimate curiosity to inquire whether Scott himself was not equally indebted to Spanish sources.

Lockhart, son-in-law and intimate biographer of Scott, states on the authority of Edward Cheney¹ that Scott himself said he was inspired to excel in fiction by the *novelas* of Cervantes, that he held the "most unbounded admiration for Cervantes," and that, until he was disabled by illness (this was in 1832), he had been a constant reader of him. While Scott's own statements in regard to his sources, as recorded in his *Journal*, his *Familiar Letters*, his own introductions and notes to his novels and Lockhart's *Memoirs* give no direct confirmation of the first tribute, they reveal not only the "most unbounded admiration for Cervantes", but a considerable acquaintance with much other Spanish literature and a high appreciation of it. Scott regarded Lockhart as a better Spanish scholar than himself and accordingly handed over to Lockhart the edition of *Don Quixote* which he had planned. His library at Abbotsford² contained seven editions of *Don Quixote*, including that of the Spanish Academy of 1780, and there is abundant evidence that this work in particular remained vividly in his mind throughout his literary life.

An examination of the *Waverley Novels*, together with Scott's above-mentioned prose works, shows over a hundred references to *Don Quixote* alone. These occur not only among his writings on literary criticism, but in the midst of his composition of romantic fiction, in his work on political and educational reform, among his familiar letters and even in his diary,

¹ J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 7 vols., Robert Cadell, Edinburgh, 1837; VII, pp. 362-370. (All references to the *Memoirs* are to this edition.)

² *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford*, Edinburgh, 1838.

where he is setting down his most intimate personal feelings. In the financial catastrophe which almost overwhelmed him it was a saying from *Don Quixote* from which he seemed to derive comfort, quoting it to himself with grim humor, "Patience, cousin, and shuffle the cards";³ the *Paciencia y barajar* of Durandarte's exhortation during his brief respite from enchantment in the cave of Montesinos.

Sancho's rebellion in the Sierra Morena against Don Quixote's imposition of silence is another incident recalled many times by Scott, among others in a letter to Morritt written in September, 1811, when he expressed the desire to go into Wales if he could find a good companion;⁴ in Letter III of the *Malachi Malagrowther* series, when he complains of his lack of opportunity to make a certain prepared speech, "To have so much eloquence die within me unuttered excited feelings like those of Sancho, when, in the deserts of Sierra Morena, his good things rotted in his gizzard";⁵ and as he is about to retire from his position in the Court of Sessions, in June, 1830, when he is saddened by the thought that "the jokes which the principal Clerks have laughed at weekly for a century . . . must be laid up to perish like those of Sancho in the Sierra Morena."⁶

Sancho is a great favorite with Scott, and he is often referred to. His own servant Tom Purdie he calls his faithful Sancho Panza;⁷ discussing the currency system adapted to England and to Scotland, he says: "This political balsam of Fierabras, which is to relieve Don Quixote, may have a great chance to poison Sancho";⁸ a letter to Lady Abercorn, in which he sends her a song and ballad, expresses the hope that she will receive them as graciously as did the Duchess the half dozen acorns from the wife of Sancho Panza.⁹ Sancho's liking for cow-heel (*uñas de vaca*) is the subject of a number of jests: "The Whigs consider education as their own province", writes Scott to Morritt, "and set their mark on it as Sancho did on the cow-heel";¹⁰ of some newly acquired property he writes to Richardson, "Nature cries to a purchaser, 'Come, plant me', as loudly as Sancho's dish

³ *The Monastery*, I, p. 97; *Quentin Durward*, I, p. 138; *Journal*, Dec. 10, 1825; Dec. 18, 1825; March 4, 1829; Lockhart, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 322-323. References to the *Waverley Novels* are to the Andrew Lang edition unless otherwise specified. References to the *Journal* are to be found in the *Memoirs* under given dates. See *Don Quixote*, IV, pp. 471-472. (References to the *Quixote* are to the *edición crítica* by Francisco Rodríguez Marín, Madrid, 1928.)

⁴ *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1894, I, p. 228; *Don Quixote*, II, pp. 275-277.

⁵ *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, March 7, 1826.

⁶ Letter to Miss Edgeworth, June 23, 1830; Lockhart, *Memoirs*, VII, p. 211.

⁷ *Familiar Letters*, II, p. 215.

⁸ *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*, *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, Feb. 21, 1826; *Don Quixote*, II, pp. 14-18.

⁹ *Familiar Letters*, I, p. 47; *Don Quixote*, VI, pp. 41, 90, 93.

¹⁰ *Familiar Letters*, II, p. 91.

of cow-heel cried, 'Eat me.'";¹¹ to D. Terry he writes, "I have no hobby-horsical commissions at present, unless if you meet the voyages of Captain Richard, or Robert Falconer, in one volume — 'cow-heel' quoth Sancho — I mark them for my own.'" ¹² The *Diary* of March 27, 1826, records: "I answered two modest requests from widow ladies . . . Really this is very much after the fashion of the husbandman of Miguel Turra's requests of Sancho when Governor. 'Have you anything else to ask, honest man?' quoth Sancho. But what are the demands of an honest man to those of an honest woman, and she a widow to boot?" ¹³ The *Journal* of August 13, 1827, speaking of a request from certain Brussels booksellers that he make amends for financial loss on one of his books, uses very aptly the same quotation from Sancho.¹⁴ In a letter to Joanna Bailey he refers to the short duration of "the worthy squire's government at Barataria".¹⁵ Describing Jeanie Dean's preparations for her important journey, in *The Heart of Midlothian*, Scott writes: "Barefooted, as Sancho says, she had come into the world, and barefooted she proposed to perform her pilgrimage."¹⁶ In *The Antiquary*, we find: "Not Sancho, when his master interrupted his account of the combatants of Pentapolin with the naked arm, to advance in person to the charge of the flock of sheep, stood more confounded than Oldbuck at this sudden escapade of his nephew."¹⁷ In *Redgauntlet* the reader is reminded of Sancho's doctor, Tirtea Fuera, who censored too well 'he food of the Governor.¹⁸ Another reference to Sancho's good appetite occurs in *The Pirate*: "Poor Triptolemus threw himself upon the good cheer like Sancho on the scum of Camacho's kettle."¹⁹ There are in Scott's writings scores of other reminders of *Don Quixote* too varied to classify; perhaps those references and comparisons used in connection with literary criticism may be selected as of most interest.

The essays on *Chivalry* and *Romance* we should expect to contain numerous allusions to Don Quixote as a model, and we are not disappointed. Scott cites "the high authority of the Knight of La Mancha" and "that irrefragable authority Don Quixote de la Mancha" in discussing typical features of books of chivalry and romance, and the extent to which they correspond to any reality in the times supposed to be portrayed. Cervantes'

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 290.

¹² Lockhart, *Memoirs*, III, p. 230; *Don Quixote*, VI, pp. 216-217.

¹³ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, VI, p. 279; *Don Quixote*, V, p. 455.

¹⁴ David Douglas, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, 2 vols., Harper and Bros., N. Y., 1891.

¹⁵ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, II, p. 322; *Don Quixote*, VI, pp. 99, 100, 110.

¹⁶ *Heart of Midlothian*, II, p. 9; *Don Quixote*, VI, p. 107.

¹⁷ *The Antiquary*, II, p. 115; *Don Quixote*, II, p. 54.

¹⁸ *Redgauntlet*, I, p. 97; *Don Quixote*, VI, pp. 57, 106.

¹⁹ *The Pirate*, I, p. 166; *Don Quixote*, IV, p. 408.

destructive influence on books of chivalry is noted.²⁰ In the following comment (in an entirely different connection) Scott analyzes incidentally but effectively this element in Cervantes' ridicule:

"For although the Knight of La Mancha was, perhaps, two centuries too late in exercising his office of redresser of wrongs, and although his heated imagination confounded ordinary objects with such as were immediately connected with the exercise of Chivalry, yet at no great distance from the date of the inimitable romance of Cervantes, real circumstances occurred, of a nature nearly as romantic as the achievements which Don Quixote aspired to execute."²¹

In certain paragraphs on literary criticism incorporated into the Introduction to *The Abbot*, Scott comments on the ups and downs of a writer's popularity:

"If . . . he can keep his ground, and stand the shuttlecock's fate, of being struck up and down, he will probably, at length, hold with some certainty the level in public opinion which he may be found to deserve; and he may perhaps boast of arresting the general attention, in the same manner as the Bachelor Samson Carrasco, of fixing the weathercock La Giralda of Seville for weeks, months, or years, that is, for as long as the wind shall uniformly blow from one quarter."²²

The incident of Gines de Pasamonte, puppet show man, passing judgment on the reality of events in the Cave of Montesinos, to the effect that, *Parte de las cosas son falsas y parte verisimiles*, lends itself to historical and literary criticism; and Scott uses it several times: among others in discussing the mixture of historical and fictitious elements in Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*;²³ also in speaking of the fidelity of Macpherson's work.²⁴ In his review of Pepys' *Memoirs*, Scott notes their variety in an apt quotation from *Don Quixote*:

"His diary absolutely resembles the genial caldrons at the wedding of Camacho, a souse into which was sure to bring forth at once abundance and variety of whatever could gratify the most eccentric appetite."²⁵

One of Scott's pieces of literary criticism is a parody on a similar bit of literary criticism by Cervantes. For the *Edinburgh Register* of 1809 Scott had written some verse imitative of some of his contemporaries, prefacing the poems by a letter entitled "The Inferno of Altisidora", in which he characterizes the leading reviewers of the day, particularly his friends Jeffrey

²⁰ Essay on Romance, VI, pp. 129-216, in Sir Walter Scott, *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, Cadell, Edinburgh, 1835.

²¹ Essay on Chivalry, VI, pp. 86-87, *Miscellaneous Prose Works*.

²² *The Abbot*, Introduction; *Don Quixote*, IV, p. 280.

²³ *Quarterly Review*, February, 1809; *Don Quixote*, V, p. 44.

²⁴ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, III, p. 230.

²⁵ *Quarterly Review*, January, 1826; *Don Quixote*, IV, pp. 405-406.

and Gifford. Mr. Croftangry's Preface to *The Surgeon's Daughter* also contains a reference to this same criticism of Cervantes:

"... the reviewers of the day who play at golf with the publications of the season, even as Altisidora, in her approach to the gates of the infernal regions, saw the devils playing with the new books of Cervantes' days."²⁶

Scott's review of Godwin's *Life of Chaucer* makes use of another of Cervantes' discourses in the field of literary criticism. Scott is criticizing Godwin for the amount of space given to 13th century life in general in proportion to that given to Chaucer himself.

"We believe", says Scott, "he profited from instructions derived from no less a person than Miguel Cervantes. 'If you have occasion', says that author, 'to mention a giant in your piece, be sure to bring in Goliath, and on this very Goliath, (who will not cost you one farthing) you may spin out a swinging annotation. You may say, '*The giant Goliath, or Goliath*, was a philistine, whom David the shepherd slew with the thundering stroke of a pebble, in the valley of Terebinthus'. *Vide Kings*, such a chapter and such a verse, where you may find it written. If not satisfied with this, you would appear a great humanist, and would show your knowledge in geography, take some occasion to draw the river Tagus into your discourse, out of which you may fish a most notable remark: 'The river Tagus', say you, 'was so called from a certain king of Spain. It takes its rise from such a place, and buries its waters in the ocean, kissing the walls of the famous city of Lisbon; and some are of opinion that the sands are gold, &c &c &c'".²⁷

In the machinery employed to maintain his incognito as author of the *Waverley Novels* Scott makes use of the device of the "lying preface" employed by writers centuries before, among others by Cervantes. Part of such a device is, "An Answer by the Author of *Waverley* to . . . Captain Clutterbuck" included in the introduction to *The Monastery*, in which Scott writes as follows:

"The Editors of your country are of such a soft and passive disposition, that they have frequently done themselves great disgrace by giving up the coadjutors who first brought them into public notice and public favor, and suffering their names to be used by those quacks and impostors who live upon the ideas of others. Thus I shame to tell how the sage Cid Hamet Benengeli was induced by one Juan Avellaneda to play the Turk with the ingenious Miguel Cervantes, and to publish a Second Part of the adventures of his hero the renowned Don Quixote, without the knowledge or coöperation of his principal aforesaid. It is true, the Arabian sage returned to his allegiance, and thereafter composed a genuine continuation of the Knight of La Mancha, in which the said Avellaneda of Tordesillas is severely chastised. . . . Yet, notwithstanding the *amende honorable* thus made by Cid Hamet Benengeli, his temporary defection did not the less occasion the decease

²⁶ *The Surgeon's Daughter*, Preface; *Don Quixote*, VI, pp. 399-401.

²⁷ *Godwin's Life of Chaucer*, in *Miscellaneous Prose Works*, XVII, pp. 57, 58; *Don Quixote*, Prólogo, I, pp. 37, 38.

of the ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote, if he can be said to die, whose memory is immortal. Cervantes put him to death, lest he should again fall into bad hands. Awful, yet just consequence of Cid Hamet's defection!"²⁸

Possibly the most significant of Scott's literary criticism dealing with Cervantes is that in which he speaks of himself as in some respect an imitator or a non-imitator of Cervantes. Such a passage occurs in the first part of *Waverley*:

"From the minuteness with which I have traced Waverley's pursuits, and the bias which these unavoidably communicated to his imagination, the reader may perhaps anticipate, in the following tale, an imitation of the romance of Cervantes. But he will do my prudence injustice in the supposition. My intention is not to follow the steps of that inimitable author in describing such total perversion of intellect as misconstrues the objects actually presented to the senses, but that more common aberration from sound judgment which apprehends occurrences indeed in their reality, but communicates to them a tincture of its own romantic tone and colouring".²⁹ Follows an account of the ideal world in which Waverley lived.

Another such passage occurs in the Introduction to *Count Robert of Paris*. Here Scott translates a long passage from the *Quixote*, in which occurs the discussion between the bachelor Sansón Carrasco and don Quixote concerning the reputations of authors in general and that of the author of *Don Quixote* in particular. It will be remembered that Sansón, while telling the don that an infinite number have admired his history, also says that some have charged him with want of memory or sincerity in a few particulars. Scott, conscious of his own carelessness as a writer and of his own failing powers, says: "There can be no doubt that if Cervantes had deigned to use it, he might have pleaded also the apology of indifferent health, under which he sternly labored while finishing the second part of *Don Quixote*". He ends the long discussion by saying:

" but I suppose it will be readily granted that the difference is too wide betwixt that great wit of Spain and ourselves to permit us to use a buckler which was rendered sufficiently formidable only by the strenuous hand in which it was placed."³⁰

Scott's familiarity with Spanish literature is by no means confined to Cervantes' work, as his correspondence and other sources reveal. His lengthy review of Southey's *Amadis de Gaula* makes comparisons with the Spanish version of Montalvo, discusses the probability of Lobeira's authorship, and altogether seems to reveal a detailed acquaintance with both Montalvo and Herberay.³¹ William Stewart Rose's (then) new version of

²⁸ *The Monastery*, Introduction; *Don Quixote*, IV, pp. 22, 36.

²⁹ *Waverley*, I, p. 32.

³⁰ *Count Robert of Paris*, Introduction; *Don Quixote*, IV, pp. 101-102.

³¹ *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1803.

Amadis is also reviewed by Scott. Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid* is made the subject of another magazine article.³² A letter to Southey, while the latter was at work on this, shows Scott to have been in touch with source material on the *Cid*,³³ and an extract from a diary of an acquaintance kept during Scott's visit to Malta tells of his repeating a long passage from memory of Frere's translation of the *Romance of the Cid*, and showing great enthusiasm for it, in this, his last year.³⁴ An early mention of Lockhart's translation of ballad poetry compares it to the original.³⁵ The collection of Spanish ballads published in Germany, first mentioned to Scott by George Ticknor, was later presented to him by young David Constable.³⁶ Among the Spanish books of his library on which he commented are the *Guerras civiles de Granada* and Pellicer's *Life of Cervantes*.³⁷ He knew *La Picara Justina Diez*, either in the original or in translation, and speaks of it as "one of the most rare books of Spanish literature" and of its author as "the ingenious" licentiate Francisco de Ubeda.³⁸ Scott's references to *Palmerin* and to *Esplandián* are so casual that it is impossible to judge whether his knowledge of these chivalresque heroes is more than superficial or not.³⁹ Mention of the "*Gracioso* of the Spanish drama" shows general understanding of the function of this type.⁴⁰ A favorite quotation from Quevedo's *Visions* is, "Go, wheel, and the devil drive thee."⁴¹ *The Vision of Don Roderick*, which Scott wrote for the Spanish war sufferers, was Spanish in subject; and the Preface and Notes to Captain Carleton's *Memoirs of the War of the Spanish Succession* were among the works he edited.

In his free use of somewhat isolated Spanish words and phrases, also, Scott's writing indicates that the language dwelt persistently in his mind: he speaks of his plan of the *Chronicles of the Canongate* as an *olla podrida*;⁴² his method of plot-making is alluded to as the *dar donde diere* mode of composition — "in English hab nab at a venture";⁴³ "*Vamos, Caracci*" prefaces a resolution to get seriously to work, recorded in the diary;⁴⁴ a letter to Lord Byron makes a correction in *Childe Harold* — "*Nuestra Dama de la Pena*, means, I suspect", says the letter, "not our

³² *Quarterly Review*, February, 1809.

³³ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, II, p. 129.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 328.

³⁵ *Familiar Letters*, II, p. 73.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 55.

³⁷ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, II, p. 285.

³⁸ *Waverley*, I, p. 173.

³⁹ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, II, p. 132.

⁴⁰ *The Abbot*, II, p. 107.

⁴¹ *The Journal*, March 26, 1826.

⁴² Lockhart, *Memoirs*, VI, p. 306.

⁴³ *Journal*, February 12, 1826.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, February 19, 1826.

Lady of Crime or Punishment, but our Lady of the Cliff: the difference is, I believe, merely in the accentuation of pena";⁴⁵ a letter to Terry contains a playful parody of a Spanish ballad;⁴⁶ such words and expressions as *Cuerpo de tal*,⁴⁷ *Voto a Dios*,⁴⁸ *basta*,⁴⁹ *sombrero*,⁵⁰ *alcalde*,⁵¹ and *maravedí*⁵² occur in settings wholly non-Spanish. Lockhart is alluded to as the *Hidalgo*.⁵³

There are numerous instances in Scott's writing of incorrect use of the Spanish tongue — one among many signs of his habitual carelessness as a writer. One of the most conspicuous is the oft-quoted recipe of Durandarte — "Patience, cousin, and shuffle the cards." The complete exhortation in each case is given in English, but frequently Scott uses the single word *Patienza*, which, in view of the six or more appearances of the full sentence, we are justified in assuming to be intended for the Castilian *paciencia*.⁵⁴

Another notable case of incorrect usage is that of Captain Dalgetty in the *Legend of Montrose*. He is much given to Spanish phrases, such as, "*Beso a usted los manos*, as the Spaniard says";⁵⁵ "Friend, I am sorry for you: but *patienza*, as the Spaniard says";⁵⁶ "*Carocco*, comrade, as the Spaniard says".⁵⁷

The "Inferno of Altsidora", mentioned above, is intended for the *Infierno*;⁵⁸ and in *Redgauntlet*, the *Avogado del Diablo* for *abogado* or *avocado*.⁵⁹ *In cuerpo* occurs for *en cuerpo*;⁶⁰ *lavendere*, translated "washerwoman", for *lavandera*;⁶¹ *Antiquera*,⁶² *Abindarez*, and *Narvez* occur for *Antequera*, *Abindarréz*, and *Narváez* respectively. In

Desde Sevilla a Marchena
Desde Granada hasta Leja,

⁴⁵ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, II, p. 399.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, V, p. 276.

⁴⁷ *Ivanhoe*, I, p. 202.

⁴⁸ *Kenilworth*, I, p. 68; ed., E. J. Hale and Son.

⁴⁹ *Fortunes of Nigel*, II, p. 85.

⁵⁰ *Peveril of the Peak*, III, p. 118.

⁵¹ *The Surgeon's Daughter*, p. 278.

⁵² *Woodstock*, II, p. 227.

⁵³ *Journal*, November 29, 1825.

⁵⁴ *The Monastery*, I, p. 197.

⁵⁵ *Legend of Montrose*, pp. 142, 172.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁵⁸ *The Surgeon's Daughter*, Preface.

⁵⁹ *Redgauntlet*, II, p. 341.

⁶⁰ *Fortunes of Nigel*, I, p. 32; *Woodstock*, II, p. 169; *Kenilworth*, I, p. 290, ed., E. J. Hale and Son.

⁶¹ *Fair Maid of Perth*, I, p. 344.

⁶² *Waverley*, I, p. 228.

we have *Leja* supplanting *Loja*.⁶³ "As the Spaniard says, *Viamos, Caroccol*" should have been *Vamos*, correctly given in some instances. *Monté Mayor* is written for *Montemayor*. It will be noted that in several of the above instances Scott's familiarity with Italian explains the form used.

Certain proverbs and other Spanish sayings occur repeatedly in Scott. Several of these have already been given among quotations from *Don Quixote*, particularly among the sayings of Sancho. "He that sleeps too long in the morning, let him borrow the pillow of a debtor. So says the Spaniard and so say I", was a saying frequently used by Sir Walter after he fell into financial difficulties.⁶⁴ "The same principle that the Spaniard says when one man walks first, all the rest must be his followers", is employed more than once.⁶⁵ "With the beard on the shoulder, as the Spaniard says", occurs many times, usually with explanation of its meaning.⁶⁶ "Time and I against any other two, saith Don Diego", or "But Spaniards have a comfortable proverb, namely: 'Time and I against any other two'",⁶⁷ Somewhat vague Spanish references include the following: "According to the Spanish phrase, 'As good gentlemen as the king, only not so rich'"⁶⁸ and, "The flesh of the champion, like that of the old Spanish general, began to tremble, in anticipation of the dangers into which his own venturesome spirit was about to involve it".⁶⁹ After the onset of physical ills, Scott many times expressed the fear that this or that book or article on which he had been laboring might "smell of the cramp, as the Bishop of Granada's sermon did of the apoplexy".⁷⁰ To Ellis he writes, "My conscience has been thumping me as hard as if it had studied under Mendoza".⁷¹ The same letter contains a reference to *Esplandián* as a hero. Writing of his association with men of science and of the subject-matter of their talk, Scott says: "Like Don Diego Snapshorto with respect to Greek, though I do not understand them, I like the sound of them".⁷² "Save me from the indiscretion of my friends, says the Spaniard; I can save myself from the hostility of my enemies", is a quotation from *Redgauntlet*.⁷³

⁶³ *Quarterly Review*, February, 1809.

⁶⁴ *Journal*, January 18, 1826.

⁶⁵ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, VII, p. 162.

⁶⁶ *Guy Mannering*, I, p. 274.

⁶⁷ *Familier Letters*, II, pp. 247, 291; Lockhart, *Memoirs*, III, p. 389.

⁶⁸ *The Highland Widow*, p. 104.

⁶⁹ *Quentin Durward*, II, p. 258.

⁷⁰ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, IV, p. 253; *Peveril of the Peak*, p. xix.

⁷¹ Lockhart, *Memoirs*, I, p. 389.

⁷² *Ibid.*, V, p. 264.

⁷³ *Redgauntlet*, II, p. 270.

Another phase of Scott's writing and a very extensive one — the choice of mediaeval chivalresque material for his novels — may owe much to his reading of Spanish. It doubtless owes much to his reading in other literatures as well. To attempt to distribute honors would require much painstaking research, if it could be done at all. But that the typically chivalresque in Scott finds its counterpart in *Don Quixote* and likewise in *Amadís*, its model, is manifest. In spite of his close acquaintance with the *Amadís* and the *Quixote*, it seems never to have occurred to Scott that the shafts of Cervantes' ridicule were directed at the same sort of chivalresque material that formed the basis of his own romantic writing. This is all the more extraordinary because in several instances he has compared himself to Cervantes as a writer.

In all the *Waverley Novels*, with the exception of *The Talisman*, *Castle Dangerous* and *The Two Drovers*, an examination reveals references to *Don Quixote* or other Spanish literature. *The Two Drovers* is a very brief Scotch conte and is hardly properly to be considered one of the *Waverley Novels*. *The Talisman* and *Castle Dangerous* are both true tales of chivalry, with all the characteristics of *Amadís*, and might easily qualify as showing numerous general traces of *Don Quixote*.

An examination of references to *Don Quixote* relative to dates leads to no definite conclusion as to whether or not Scott's admiration of Cervantes was more potent at one time than another. In the novels, references to *Don Quixote* seem to decrease rather sharply after *Redgauntlet*, his nineteenth novel. From *Waverley*, published in 1814 and containing five references, to *Redgauntlet*, published in 1824 and containing seven, there are fifteen of the novels containing specific allusions. The other four have general references for which parallels in *Don Quixote* can be cited. Among the ten novels following *Redgauntlet* only three contain specific references — *The Surgeon's Daughter*, *The Highland Widow* and *Count Robert of Paris*. Four contain other Spanish phrases or allusions, however. If the novels alone were considered it might be said that Scott had Cervantes in mind most during the period of his best work. But among his other writings after 1824 there continue to be many reminders of the *Quixote*. The *Journal*, from which a number have been quoted, was not begun till 1825; and several extracts from the letters and the biography bear dates of this year or later. It would probably be too much to put into Scott's own mouth the words he gives to Fergus Mac Ivor after the latter has quoted *Don Quixote* at length, "Cervantes, without quoting thy remnants, how should I frame my language

to befit romantic ears?"⁷⁴ Yet the reader who notes the numerous and delightful references to the Knight of La Mancha throughout his life as a writer, cannot but think these words might well be said by Scott himself.

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⁷⁴ *Waverley*, I, p. 228.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF PIERRE BAYLE

(Continued)¹

VIII. ON THE ARTICLE "AKAKIA" IN THE *DICTIONNAIRE*: BAYLE'S COLLABORATORS

NOTWITHSTANDING his vast erudition, Bayle never had any reticence in calling upon his friends to furnish him with details about disputed or obscure points of which he wanted to treat in his *Dictionnaire*. Much of his correspondence is taken up with inquiries to his numerous acquaintances, and he seemed to take a particular delight in mentioning that his friends had supplied him with one or another bit of rare documentation. Among the articles that thus owe much to the almost anonymous collaboration of his friends, there stands out the complex biographical entry on the family "Akakia," which occupies pages 121 and 122 of his *Dictionnaire*. For the elucidation of the intricate history of this family, he owed a debt of gratitude to Pinsson de Riolles, Drelincourt, and the Abbé Le Gallois,² which, moreover, he most graciously acknowledged both in his letters and in the *Dictionnaire* itself. Referring to certain new facts he mentioned about the Akakia tribe, he stated (p. 122, note C): "Je l'ai su par le moien de Mr. Pinsson des Riolles, qui a pris la peine le plus obligeamment du monde de m'envoyer plusieurs particularitez concernant les Akakia." He mentions another collaborator, "Monsr. le Professeur Drelincourt" (p. 122, note C). They helped to disentangle the complex biographies of the various members of the family, about whom Bayle stated: "J'y aurois été trompé, aussi bien que Mr. Moréri,³ si je n'eusse recouru aux lumières de quelques amis" (p. 122).

¹ Cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXII, July-September, 1931, pp. 210-217; *Idem*, XXIII, January-March, 1932, pp. 20-23; *Idem*, XXIII, April-June, 1932, pp. 117-128; "Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle to his Mother (1671-1672)," *Leuvense Bijdragen*, Louvain, XXIV, 1932, pp. 47-50; *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, July-September, 1932, pp. 206-224.

² Charles Drelincourt (1633-1697), third son of Charles Drelincourt (1595-1669), famous Protestant minister. After having been private physician of Turenne, then of Louis XIV, he became in 1668 professor of medicine and anatomy in the University of Leyden, of which he also became rector. He published a number of treatises on medicine. Boerhaave was one of his students. Cf. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*; Nicéron, *Mémoires*, XV; *Biographie médicale*; etc.

The Abbé Jean Gallois or Le Gallois (1632-1707), was the editor of the *Journal des Savants* after Salo, from 1665 to 1674. He became professor of Greek at the Collège Royal de France, although he was also proficient in theology, physics and mathematics. In 1673 he was elected member of the French Academy. Cf. Moréri, *Dict.*; Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique*; etc.

³ The authors of the famous *Dictionnaire généalogique et historique*.

The exact extent of the collaboration of Pinsson de Riollès can be determined by a letter of October 1, 1693, which remains in part unpublished,⁴ and which, while referring to previous information, furnishes a number of questions which the inquisitive Bayle put to his correspondent. Here we find, at first hand, Bayle's critical mind at work; we witness the intricate elaboration of one of those condensed and heavily documented footnotes, loaded with erudition, for which the indefatigable compiler of the *Dictionnaire* remains so famous:

"A Rotterdam, le 1^{er} d'Octobre 1693.

"A Monsieur Pinsson des Riollès,

"Avocat au Parlement:

"Comme on ne peut rien voir de plus obligeant ni de plus honnête, Monsieur, que la bonté avec laquelle vous vous employez à tout ce qui me concerne, aussi vous puis-je protester qu'il n'y a rien de plus fort que la reconnaissance que j'en ai et que le désir de vous rendre la pareille si j'en étois capable. J'ai le chagrin de ne trouver pas les secours qui me seroient nécessaires pour les choses que vous souhaitteriez de moi, car, par exemple, je n'ai encore pu rien tirer de ceux que j'avois mis en quête à l'égard des 'Alphabets'⁵ dont votre ami a besoin. Tout se fait ici lentement et le mal est qu'on y cultive peu les sciences.

"Vous avez sans doute reçu à présent le paquet dont j'ai écrit à notre ami M. de Larroque,⁶ et vous y aurez trouvé les *Monnoyes* de M. le Blanc, édition d'Amsterdam.⁷ Le billet que je mis dernièrement sous le couvert de M. de Larroque pour vous, Monsieur, ne contenoit presque point de nouveautés littéraires. C'est que nous en avons peu. Vous m'avez communiqué une instruction si curieuse touchant les *Akakia* que j'espère que vous voudrez bien achever ce que vous avez conduit si près de la perfection; c'est pourquoi je joins ici un doute qui me reste. Vous le trouverez dans un morceau de papier à part.⁸ Je suis très obligé au neveu de M. Hallé des mémoires et des présens qu'il me destine, et je me ferai un grand plaisir

⁴ H. Volney, in the *Revue des Ardennes et d'Argonne*, June, 1900, p. 154 ff., has published the first part of this letter, but without the annotation of the many contemporary references, without which Bayle's letter remains practically unintelligible. Moreover, he has misread several of the names ("Teers" for "Leers"; "Fraverol" for "Graverol," etc.), and he has omitted entirely the second part of the letter, — that referring to the *Akakia* family. For these reasons we are here publishing the letter in its entirety.

⁵ These "Alphabets" are most likely the *Alphabeti vere naturalis bebraici brevissima Delineatio, quæ simul methodum suppeditat juxta quam qui surdi nati sunt sic informari possunt, ut non alios saltem loquentes intelligant, sed et ipsi ad sermonis usum perveniant*, by François Mercurius, baron van Helmont, Sulzbach, 1667, in-12.

⁶ Daniel de Larroque, circa 1660-1731. On him see *Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle: IV. On the Imprisonment of Bayle's Collaborator, Daniel de Larroque (1694)*, in *ROMANTIC REVIEW*, XXIII, April-June, 1932, pp. 121-124.

⁷ The works to which Bayle refers are by the numismatist, François Le Blanc († 1698): *Traité historique des monnoies de France depuis le commencement de la monarchie jusqu'à présent* (1690), and *Dissertation sur quelques monnoies de Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire, Lothaire et ses successeurs, frappées dans Rome* (1689). An edition of these two works together appeared in Amsterdam, in 1692, in-4°, the volume sent by Bayle.

⁸ Cf. the appendix of this letter. This note of Bayle forms the second, and entirely unpublished, part of this letter, found in the *Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle*.

d'honorer mon *Dictionnaire* d'un sujet aussi illustre que l'a été ce fameux professeur de l'université de Paris.⁹ Si vous ne trouvez pas d'occasion plus prompte par le moyen de Mr. Turretin¹⁰ vous pourrez, Monsieur, remettre le tout empaqueté à l'adresse de Mr. Leers,¹¹ libraire de Rotterdam, à Mr. Anisson¹² qui le fera tenir à M. Fiévet libraire de l'Île,¹³ d'entre les mains duquel Mr. Leers trouvera moyen de le retirer. Nous verrons bientôt ici la traduction française d'un livre flamand qui a fait beaucoup de bruit. L'auteur se nomme Bekker;¹⁴ il étoit ministre d'Amsterdam mais il a été déposé pour ce livre où il soutient que le diable n'a aucune puissance et qu'il n'y a ni magie ni sortilège, et n'y en a jamais eu, et il répond à tous les passages de l'écriture qui lui sont objectés. Depuis la déposition il a parlé beaucoup

⁹ Pierre Hallé (born at Bayeux, 1611, died in Paris, December 27, 1689), lawyer and poet. He was made professor of rhetoric at the University of Caen at the age of twenty-four and rector in 1640. The chancellor, Séguier, persuaded him to come to Paris as professor of humanities at the Collège d'Harcourt. At the end of 1646 he was made "lecteur et interprète du roi pour les langues grecque et latine;" in 1654, professor "*des saints décrets*" in the faculty of law of the University of Paris. He has written: *Orationes et Poemata*, 1655; *Scholæ Juris Encomia*, 1656; *Dissertationes de censuris ecclesiasticis*, 1659; *Elogium Gabrielis Naudæi*, 1651; etc. He had composed other works on canon law, regale, simony, the authority of the pope and the councils, — but they have not been printed. Cf. on him Bayle's *Dictionnaire*; Huet, *Origines de la ville de Caen*, p. 780; Nicéron, *Mémoires*; Baillet, *Jugement des Savans*, vol. V, p. 361; etc. The "neveu of Mr. Hallé" is Jean Hallé, secretary to the king, who wrote a Latin *Eloge* of Pierre Hallé, "duquel *Eloge*," says Bayle, "Mr. Pinsson des Riolles m'a communiqué une copie manuscrite." (Cf. *Dict.*, II, p. 690).

¹⁰ Jean-Alphonse Turretin (1671-1737), son of François Turretin, the influential professor of theology at Geneva (1623-1687). In 1693, Jean-Alphonse was twenty-two years old and a student at Leyden. About that time he went to Paris, which explains the references in this letter. Bayle wrote him during his sojourn at the capital. In 1697 he became professor of ecclesiastical history at Geneva. He is known as the author of many works on history and theology.

¹¹ Mr. Volney spelled "Teers" by mistake.

¹² Jean Anisson, sieur d'Hauteroche, editor of, and collaborator to, the Greek Glossary of Du Cange, honorary counsellor of the Parliament, intendant of commerce, Chevalier de Saint Michel, was called in 1690 to direct the Imprimerie Royale established in the Louvre. He resigned in 1707 in favor of Claude Rigaud, his brother-in-law, because he was called upon to render other services to the king. He became an ambassador to London to regulate a commercial pact in 1713. Cf. Gigas, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹³ "De l'Île," read "de Lille," town near the French-Belgian frontier.

¹⁴ Balthasar Bekker (1634-1698). He studied in Franeker and filled successively a post as minister in Oosterlittens, Loenen and other Dutch localities. In 1668 he tried to prove that the Cartesian philosophy can very well be allied with theology, in his *De philosophia Cartesiana Admonitio sincera*, 1668. Two more popular books, *Gesneden Brood* (*Pain coupé, Cut Bread*) and *Vaste Spijze* (*Mets de Carême, Fastingtide Food*), were decried as filled with Socinianism. At the occasion of the Comet in 1680 and 1681, he published *Recherches sur les Comètes* (1683), in which he proved that comets do not predict public disasters and unhappiness. The similarity with Bayle's opinions on comets is obvious. His most famous book is *De betooverde Waereld* (*Le Monde enchanté, The World Enchanted*), 1691, and it was soon translated into most European languages. A French translation appeared in Amsterdam, 1694, in 4 volumes. This is the translation to which Bayle refers. The book was condemned by the synod, and Bekker was forced to give up his position, and was violently persecuted. He was thus obliged to lead a vagabond life because he did not believe in witchcraft! Yet before him similar views had been expounded. Cf. J. M. Robertson, *A Short History of Free Thought*, 1915, II, p. 138 ff., and also the very rare treatise of Abraham Palingh, which Bekker must have known: *'T Afgerukt Momaansicht der Tooverye, daarin het bedrogh der gewaande Tooverye naakte ontdekt, en met gezonde Redenen en exempelen dezzer Eeuw aangewezen wort*. Amsterdam, 1659. (*The Mask of Witchcraft torn off, in which the deceit of illusory witchcraft is nakedly exposed and substantiated with valid reasons and examples from this Century.*)

plus hardiment et vidé tout le fonds du sac. On doute que le traducteur français puisse continuer son travail sur les deux dernières parties de Bekker, car on s'est déjà trémoussé contre lui sur l'avis que l'on a eu qu'il faisoit imprimer la traduction de la première partie. Mr. Turretin vous auroit pu parler d'un livre anglois intitulé *La Religion du Gentilhomme*. On va le donner en français et je pense qu'il aura pour titre, *La Religion de l'honnête homme*.¹⁵ Il faudroit que votre ami, traducteur en prose des *Amours d'Ovide*,¹⁶ nous fit savoir à peu près combien il voudroit avoir de la copie, je proposerois tout aussitôt la chose à celui de tous les imprimeurs de Hollande avec lequel on peut mieux entrer en négociation pour ces sortes d'ouvrages et je vous ferois savoir la réponse. Vous savez sans doute, Monsieur, que les libraires de ce pays ne paient pas les auteurs aussi largement qu'en France, dont la raison est que la plupart n'impriment que des livres déjà imprimés dont la copie ne leur coûte rien et cependant ils vendent aux autres libraires but à but; ils troquent tous feuille contre feuille, outre que les livres sont ici à bon marché dans le détail et que tel in-12 qui coûte à Paris trente sols n'en coûte pas ici dix, quand il y est imprimé. Quant aux livres posthumes de Mr. Hallé, comme ils sont sur des matières du droit canonique,¹⁷ je ne crois pas que nos libraires s'en voulussent charger durant l'interdiction du commerce, car ici et en Allemagne le débit de ces livres, quelque beaux qu'ils soient, est très petit. Je diffère encore jusques à une autre occasion d'écrire à notre illustre Monsieur Graverol;¹⁸ faites lui en attendant, je vous en conjure, Monsieur, les assurances de mes respects. M. Turretin vous pourra faire part des nouveautés littéraires que je lui marquerai s'il m'en tombe quelqu'une en main avant que je cachette ma lettre. Je m'imagine que le *Nobiliaire de Picardie* dont vous me parlez et dont vous nommez l'auteur (si j'ai bien lu) Monsieur Haudicquer de Blancat, vient de la même main qui nous a donné l'*Histoire des François et de leur Empire*. Je pourrois me tromper, car l'auteur de cette histoire prend nom de Monsieur Audigier à la tête de son livre.¹⁹ Il n'y a encore que six feuilles d'imprimées de mon *Diction-*

¹⁵ *La Religion d'un bonnête homme qui n'est pas théologien de profession, traduit de l'anglois* (by Edward Synge), Amsterdam, Brunel, 1699.

¹⁶ This "traduction en prose d'Ovide" is by de Martignac. The book appeared in 1693: *Les Œuvres d'Ovide. Traduction nouvelle par [Etienne Algai] Sieur de Martignac. Avec des remarques* [contains also the Latin text]. 9 vols., in-12. Lyon, Horace Molin, 1697. Cf. F. L. A. Schweiger, *Handbuch der classischen Bibliographie*, 1834, II, p. 674.

¹⁷ Cf. note 9 above. Hallé left works on canon law in manuscript.

¹⁸ Volney misread the name as "Fraverol." François Graverol (born at Nîmes in 1635 or 1636, died September 10, 1694) lawyer and archaeologist, one of the founders of the Académie de Nîmes, made a corresponding member of the Academy of the *Ricovrati* of Padua in 1689, and the author of many books on law, history, numismatics, etc. Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, July-September, 1932, *Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle*, VI, note 7.

¹⁹ Bayle was mistaken, since the *Nobiliaire de Picardie* was written by Haudicquer de Blancourt, and the *Origine des François* by Pierre Audigier. The genealogist Jean (or François) Haudicquer de Blancourt (born circa 1650, the date of death unknown) claimed to descend from Robert Haudicquer, proven a noble in 1342. Established in Paris, he worked at the history of noble families of Picardy. He married, as second wife, in 1684, the oldest daughter of the famous historian, François Duchesne. At his death, this savant left him his rich library of manuscripts. Haudicquer was also an alchemist. He was accused of having imitated and manufactured a number of false old "titles of nobility," and condemned to the galleys in 1701. This punishment was changed to life-long imprisonment. On July 10, 1708, an "arrêt" ordered the

naire historique et critique. Je suis plus que je ne puis l'exprimer, tout à vous,

BAYLE."

[October 1, 1693.]

"A. M. Pinsson:

"Ce que vous m'avez communiqué, Monsieur, sur la famille Akakia, est si instructif et si exact que je ne puis assez vous marquer la reconnaissance que je sens pour la peine si obligeante que vous avez prise. Il ne me reste qu'un petit éclaircissement à vous demander, et je vous conjure de vouloir prendre la peine de revoir votre Duval.²⁰ Vous me marquez, Monsieur, que Martin Akakia, II, du nom et premier lecteur en chirurgie dans le Collège Royal, mourut en 1588, âgé de 49. ans ou environ, et que s'étant démis de sa charge en faveur de Jean Martin²¹ par lettres données à Blois le 17. décembre 1588, ledit Martin lui rendit sa démission avec mille remerciemens en faveur de Pierre Séguin;²² et que Akakia agréant cela, Pierre Séguin obtint des lettres le 26. Juin 1594. Voici ma difficulté: un homme mort en 1588, peut-il agréer qu'une démission obtenue le 17. décembre 1588, devienne nulle, et passe à un autre qui est pourvu de la charge en 1594?²³ Si je ne craignois de vous trop importuner, je vous demanderois

transfer of all his papers and manuscripts, including many of François Duchesne, to the Bibliothèque Royale. The volume here referred to is: *Nobiliaire de Picardie, contenant les généralités d'Amiens, de Soissons, des pays reconquis, et partie de l'élection de Beauvais: le tout justifié conformément aux jugemens rendus en faveur de la province*, Paris, 1693, 1695, in 4°. "L'ouvrage d'Haudicquer, qui a été pros crit (en partie), sur les plaintes qu'il a occasionnées, a néanmoins conservé quelque crédit vis-à-vis des curieux, parce que les exemplaires en sont rares . . . parmi le petit nombre qui en sont restés, il en existe peu qui soient parfaits, par rapport aux cartons et aux retranchements que ce livre a soufferts." (De Bure). He also wrote, among other works: *De l'art de la Verrerie, où l'on apprend à faire le verre, le cristal et l'émail; la manière de faire les perles, les pierres précieuses, la porcelaine et les miroirs*, etc., Paris, 1697, 1718. Cf. on him, for instance: *Journal des Savans*, September, 1698; Lelong, *Bibl. hist. de la France*; Lenglet-Dufresnoy, *Méth. hist.*, IV, p. 443; Chaudon and Delandine, *Dict. univ. hist. crit. et bibliogr.*; etc.

The Canon, Pierre Audigier, wrote *L'Origine des François et de leur Empire*, Paris, 1676, 2 vols.; *Projet de l'Histoire d'Auvergne*, s. l. n. d., in-4°. (Cf. *Histoire d'Auvergne*, par le chanoine Pierre Audigier. Tome I, *Projet de l'Histoire d'Auvergne*, 1894, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Clermont-Ferrand*). This historian, born at Clermont-Ferrand, was canon of the cathedral of that city under the episcopacy of Massillon. He wrote an extensive *Histoire civile, littéraire et religieuse de la province d'Auvergne*, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

²⁰ Guillaume du Val, *Catalogue des Professeurs du Collège Royal*, 1644.

²¹ Jean Martin published *Prælectiones in Librum Hippocratis Coi de Morbis internis*, 1633; *Prælectiones in Librum Hippocratis Coi de Aere, Aquis, et Locis*, 1646.

²² Pierre Séguin was the son-in-law of Martin Akakia II.

²³ Pierre Séguin was professor of medicine from 1588 to 1599. The fact that du Breul in his *Antiquitez de Paris*, p. 568, states that he obtained this post in 1594, was explained to Bayle by Pinsson de Riollès: "Qu'il est bien vrai que Pierre Séguin fut pourvu dès l'année 1588 de la charge de Lecteur Roial en Chirurgie, par la démission de Martin Akakia son beau-père; mais qu'il eut besoin de prendre de nouvelles Lettres, l'an 1594. En voici la raison: pendant les guerres civiles, le nombre des Lecteurs Roiaux se multiplia beaucoup plus que la fondation ne portoit; plusieurs personnes avoient obtenu subrepticement les provisions de cette charge. Henri quatre cassa une partie de ces Lecteurs en 1594, et redonna de nouvelles Lettres à ceux qui furent retenus. Pierre Séguin fut de ceux-ci. Voilà pourquoi sa promotion a été marquée sous l'an 1594, par l'Auteur des *Antiquitez de Paris*; mais si cet Auteur étoit exact, il ne se contenteroit pas de dire que Pierre Séguin fut mis à la place de Martin Akakia le 20 de Septembre

encore la grâce de me dire si Martin Akakia, professeur royal lorsque Duval publia son livre, étoit fils de Jean Akakia, médecin au Roi Louis XIII et mort en Savoie en 1630.²⁴ Mr. Patin parle d'un Akakia qui fut mis à la Bastille en 1664, et qui étoit frère du professeur.²⁵ Il est mort sans doute sans laisser postérité. C'étoit un homme d'intrigue. Le *Journal d'Amsterdam* (c'est une nouvelle production dont on n'a encore vu que les deux premières feuilles) débite que sur les plaintes de l'Empereur on mit à la Bastille ledit Akakia une seconde fois, je veux dire, depuis l'emprisonnement de 1664, dont Guy Patin a parlé. Le second emprisonnement étoit fondé sur ce qu'Akakia intriguait en Pologne pour la déposition du Roy Michel, beau-frère de l'Empereur, à ce que dit le journaliste. Il est aisé de vérifier à Paris si cet homme a été en prison deux fois.²⁶

Bayle must have been greatly pleased with the reply of Pinsson de Riollas, for in a later letter, which here follows, he states: "A l'égard de Akakia, il n'y a plus rien à désirer; vous avez mis la chose dans la dernière justesse, ou par vous-même ou par les soins obligeans de votre illustre ami Mr. l'Abbé le Galois."

"Rotterdam, [1693].²⁷

"J'ai toujours, Monsieur, mille remerciements à vous faire; vos honnêtetés et] libéralités ne s'épuisent point; elles s'augmentent au contraire com[me les] rivières durant la longueur de leur cours. Le paquet que Mr. Turretin²⁸ avoit donné à son ami m'a été rendu; j'y ai trouvé des choses qui m'ont fait passer quelques heures de lecture le plus agréablement du monde, et principalement les inscriptions ou éloges funèbres dont vous avez honoré la mémoire de vos illustres amis.²⁹ Elles sont noblement tournées, et sentent une plume née et habituée à cela. Je suis fâché qu'il ne se présente point d'occasions de vous envoyer des fruits de ce pays-ci; mais soit que personne

1594. Il craindroit de faire juger à ses Lecteurs que Martin Akakia mourut cette même année, et que Pierre Séguin commença alors d'être Professeur Royal. Or quiconque diroit cela, débiteroit deux grans mensonges." (Cf. Bayle's *Dict.*, I, p. 122, note C).

²⁴ This passage refers to Martin Akakia IV, professor of surgery until 1677. He was the son of Jean Akakia, physician of Louis XIII. In this letter Bayle states that he died in 1630, but in the *Dictionnaire* he gives 1620 as the date. Jean had several other sons: Roger, Charles, Simon Akakia, etc., some of whom became identified with the Jansenist group of Port-Royal.

²⁵ This "homme d'intrigue" was Roger Akakia, son of Jean, and brother of Martin Akakia IV.

²⁶ The first imprisonment of Roger Akakia in the Bastille took place in 1664, "pour avoir écrit quelque chose qui a déplu à Mr. le Prince," according to Guy Patin. The second imprisonment, lasting only five or six months, is to be placed before June, 1672. The object of his intrigues in Poland was to depose King Michael, who would be succeeded by the Duke de Longueville. Roger Akakia was still alive in 1683, when a Pole, who disguised his name as Stanislaus Lysimachus, wrote a pamphlet to complain of his secret intrigues with Count Tékely. Cf. Bayle, *Dict.*, article "Akakia (Martin I)," note D.

²⁷ The date of this unpublished letter has been torn off in the Columbia University *Manuscript of Letters by Bayle*, from which both this and the following letters proceed. It can, however, be approximately dated, from its relation with the previous and the following letter here published, between October 15, 1693 and December 15, 1693.

²⁸ See note 10 above.

²⁹ Pinsson de Riollas published an *Eloge de Dom du Frische* (1694), a Benedictine monk (1694), and an *Inscription* to the honor of Pierre Hallé (Cf. note B of the article "Hallé" in the *Dictionnaire*). He also composed an epitaph for G. Ménage.

ne passe d'ici en France, soit que nos imprimés soient de nature à épouvanter tous ceux qui montreroient leurs valises aux Bureaux de la Frontière, il m'est impossible de vous envoyer quoi que ce soit, et il est même vrai que les Muses sont ici dans une extrême stérilité. Vous ne serez pas fâché, Monsieur, que je vous dise qu'il y a quelquefois des mots dans vos lettres que j'ai peine à déchiffrer. Tel a été l'endroit où vous me parlez de la lettre de Mr. Perrault contre l'Ode Pindarique.³⁰ J'ai cru y lire que ce célèbre auteur vous a donné un exemplaire de cette lettre pour me l'envoyer. Si cela est, je vous supplie de lui en bien témoigner ma reconnaissance. Je suis tout à fait de son sentiment, et je remarque que ses adversaires ne se défendent jamais par des raisons; ils ne font que déclamer et ne viennent jamais au fait. Ses *Parallèles* ont été réimprimés à Amsterdam depuis quelques mois³¹ et plaisent beaucoup à nos curieux. Sa lettre à Mr. B[oileau] est tout à fait judicieuse et polie,³² et je ne vois pas ce qu'on y peut répondre. J'en ai fait part à Mr. de Beauval qui, quoique grand ami de Mr. de Fontenelle, ne veut pas se trop ouvertement déclarer pour aucun parti.³³ Je renouvelle mes remerciements très humbles au neveu de Mr. Hallé dont l'éloge trouvera sa place dans mon ouvrage.³⁴ A l'égard des Akakia, il n'y a plus rien à désirer; vous avez mis la chose dans la dernière justesse, ou par vous-même ou par les soins obligeants de votre illustre ami Mr. l'Abbé le Galois.³⁵ Tous nos libraires de qui je pouvois espérer le plus m'ont répondu que le temps ne leur permet pas d'imprimer des livres dont les copies coûtent beaucoup, de sorte qu'encore qu'ils connoissent le succès et la bonté des traductions de Mr. de Martignac, ils ne peuvent songer à imprimer son Ovide.³⁶ Voilà quelle est leur méthode: ils ne donnent presque rien à un auteur, et principalement lorsque la copie est de nature à pouvoir être imprimée à Paris. Ils se réservent à la contrefaire ici, sans qu'elle leur coûte rien pour l'auteur. La vie de l'abbé Des Camps n'a jamais paru ici, c'est de quoi je vous réponds. Si elle a été imprimée, il faut que tous les exemplaires en aient été transportés dans un autre pays. Aucun libraire n'en a connoissance.³⁷ [Voici] en fin ma réponse à Mr. Graverol.³⁸ Je

³⁰ Lettre à Monsieur D[espréaux] touchant la préface de son ode sur la prise de Namur, avec une autre lettre (à Monsieur P***) où l'on compare l'ode de Monsieur D*** avec celle que Monsieur Chapelain fit autrefois pour le cardinal de Richelieu. No date, but should be dated 1693, as this letter proves.

³¹ This edition is: *Parallèles des Anciens et des Modernes*, Nouvelle édition, Amsterdam, 1693.

³² This letter is the same as the *Lettre à Monsieur D[espréaux]* referred to in note 30 above.

³³ As is well known, Fontenelle was one of the leaders of the Moderns. Henri Basnage de Beauval (1656-1710) was the editor of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants* (1687-1709).

³⁴ See note 9 above, and Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article "Hallé."

³⁵ See note 2 above.

³⁶ See note 16 above.

³⁷ In a letter to the Abbé Dubos of July 9, 1699, Bayle says: "Je suis bien confus de n'avoir pu encore vous envoyer la lettre que toutes sortes de raisons m'engagent d'écrire à Monsieur l'Abbé de Camps." (Cf. Gigas, *op. cit.*, p. 113). This Abbé is François des Camps († 1723), who was for several years "grand-vicaire" of the Archbishop Serroni. He was a numismatist, and in 1693 published a volume: *Selections Numismata in arc maximi moduli à Museo Illustrissimi D. D. Francisci de Camps, Abbatis S. Marcelli, et B. Marie de Siniaco, concisus interpretationibus per D. Vaillant D. M. et Cenomanensium Ducis Antiquarium illustrata*. Cf. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article "Serroni," note A, where Bayle praises him very highly: "C'est un homme illustre, et de beaucoup d'érudition, et qui a fait un très-bel amas des plus curieuses Médailles

suis avec tout l'attachement et toute la reconnaissance possible, Monsieur, votre très humble serviteur,

"Bayle.

"Je sais que le Jurisconsulte dont parle Alciat après la glose d'Accurse, passe pour le fameux Abaillard,³⁹ mais je trouve étrange qu'Accurse ait voulu parler de lui, car qu'y-a-t-il de plus éloigné du vraisemblable et du bon sens que de dire qu'un dialecticien, qui ne se mêloit que de scholastique, a reconnu son ignorance sur une loi? Peut-on donner cela pour une preuve que cette loi soit obscure? Rouilliar dans ses *Antiquités de Melun*,⁴⁰ où il parle de Pierre Abaillard, ne voit pas qu'Accurse ait voulu parler de lui. "A Monsieur Pinsson des Riolles,

"Avocat au Parlement,
Rue de la Harpe, à Paris."

Bayle had reasons for fearing that this letter and others which he sent at the same time, might have been lost. On December 21, 1693, he wrote to Pinsson de Riolles through the intermediary of Larroque, an alarmed note stating that the correspondent of the bookseller Leers, to whom it had been entrusted, had absconded. He repeated in brief some of the matters he had previously treated. This note proves that Bayle attached a real importance to his learned epistles:

"21 Décembre, [1693].⁴¹

"A. M. Pinsson:

"J'appris, il y a deux jours, Monsieur, avec un chagrin que je ne puis vous exprimer, qu'une lettre que j'avois eu l'honneur de vous écrire fut mise par Mr. Leers, libraire de cette ville, sous celle qu'il envoya à l'un de ses correspondants de Paris, et que ce correspondant s'est évadé. Je crains donc que ma lettre ne soit égarée pour jamais; j'en suis inconsolable à cause que vous aurez pu me soupçonner d'avoir mal répondu à mon devoir par rapport au paquet que l'ami de Mr. Turretin m'a donné de votre part. Je vous en faisais les remerciements les plus sincères qu'il m'étoit possible;

qu'on puisse trouver." As to the *Vie* of this Abbé des Camps, there appeared in the *Mercur galant* of May, 1678, an *Eloge* of him. This may be the "Vie" here referred to. Cf. Bayle, *loc. cit.*, notes 6 and 7.

³⁸ See note 18 above.

³⁹ François d'Amboise, who wrote a preface to the *Opus Abaelardi*, believed that he had found a reference to Pierre Abélard in the commentary of F. Accursius (1182-1260) on the law: "*Quinque pedum præscriptione*," in which he said: "*Sed Petrus Bailardus, qui se jactavit quod ex qualibet quantumcunque difficili litera traheret sanum intellectum, hic dixit 'Nescio.'*" This opinion was followed by Alciat, by E. Pasquier in his *Recherches de la France*, Book VI, chap. XVII, by Jacob Thomasius, in his *Vita Petri Abaelardi*, and by de la Monnoie, who communicated some notes to Bayle. On the other hand, Crinitus, in his *De honestâ Disciplina*, Book XXV, chap. IV, mentions a "*Joannes Bajalardus*" whom Bayle believed he could identify with the "*Petrus Baylardus*" mentioned by Accursius. In any case, Bayle remained strongly of the opinion that "*Petrus Baylardus*" was not Pierre Abélard at all.

⁴⁰ Cf. note 34 of the *Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle* in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, no. 3, July-September, 1932, VI, p. 214.

⁴¹ This letter, of which the date has been partly torn off in the Columbia University Manuscript of *Letters by Bayle*, should be dated 1693, as is obvious from its references to the two preceding letters, as well as from the mention of Mr. Graverol, who died on September 10, 1694.

je vous remerciois en particulier de la lettre de Mr. Perrault et vous suppliois de l'asseurer de mes très humbles respects; je vous adressois une longue lettre pour Mr. Graverol. Si tout cela est perdu, que je suis à plaindre, car le peu de loisir que j'ai m'ôte la liberté d'écrire; et j'ai une répugnance insurmontable à écrire deux fois sur la même matière. Je veux espérer que la lettre vous reviendra tôt ou tard. Je vous répondois sur la traduction d'Ovide, qu'aucun libraire d'ici n'en veut donner ce qu'on en demande, et quant à la *Vie* de l'abbé des Camps, on ne sait ce que c'est. Je suis autant qu'on le peut être, Monsieur, votre très humble et ob[éissant] serviteur,

Bayle."

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(*To be continued*)

MISCELLANEOUS

PETRUS BOREL : POURQUOI "LE LYCANTHROPE"?

PETRUS Borel (1809-1859), l'auteur des *Rhapsodies*, de *Champfaveit*, et de *Madame Putiphar*, est un de ces poètes qui ont, avec une fougueuse bonne foi et une sorte de logique perverse, vécu leur Romantisme. C'est d'avoir voulu vivre ainsi son Romantisme que le pauvre Gérard de Nerval mourut une nuit d'hiver de 1855 dans la rue Vieille-Lanterne. Petrus Borel, lui, après quinze années de poésie et de misère, s'en alla finir comme colon dans une Algérie encore vierge, lâchant l'Art à tout jamais par une déconversion qui est comme un pressentiment de celle de Rimbaud trente ans plus tard. Mais en son beau temps il avait été "le grand homme spécial," comme dit Théophile Gauthier (qui en fit partie), de la bande des Bousingots. On appelait ainsi vers 1830 de jeunes Romantiques qui faisaient de la politique ou plutôt de l'agitation, des libertaires outranciers mais assez inoffensifs qui se distinguaient des Jeune France lesquels étaient les esthètes du Romantisme. Comme chef de chœur des Bousingots l'année triomphale de Petrus Borel fut 1833 où, un an après les *Rhapsodies*, parut *Champfaveit*, *Contes Immoraux*. Cette année-là un portrait de Napoléon Thomas au Louvre montrait un Petrus fatal et beau, à gilet cramoisi, habit à grands revers pointus, gants couleur "sang royaliste," chapeau d'astrologue, barbe et cheveux flottants. Mais cela n'est que la pose et le physique du personnage. En fait il y a eu autre chose.

Il y a eu ceci d'abord : Petrus Borel avec toutes ses outrances et ses puérilités bousingotes, est un écrivain de race, un satiriste plein de mordant, un lyrique plein d'accent. Et il y a eu ceci encore : Petrus Borel est à certains égards une influence, une source. Il a été trop admiré pour que ceux qui l'admiraient ne lui aient pas dû quelque chose. Baudelaire trouvait "dans plusieurs scènes de *Madame Putiphar* la marque d'un talent véritablement épique." Gustave Flaubert et son ami Louis Bouilhet ont bien souvent ensemble "rugi" du Petrus Borel. Dans Flaubert jeune, dans Flaubert homme mûr, il y a eu du Bousingot et des fièvres romantiques à la Borel. Et de Borel il persiste chez Flaubert des traces curieuses comme je le montrerai un jour dans cette même ROMANIC REVIEW. En somme Petrus Borel, ce demi-fou, fut un écrivain entier. Et malgré l'excellence de l'édition et de l'étude que M. Aristide Marie lui a consacrées¹ il est dommage que nous n'ayons sur lui rien de comparable en importance et en pénétration critique au livre de Sprietsma sur Aloïsius Bertrand, dit Gaspard de la Nuit.

Ce préambule qui dit l'importance encore mal connue du personnage servira du même coup de raison d'être pour la recherche qui fait proprement le sujet de la présente note : Comment Petrus Borel en est-il venu à se donner le surnom de "Lycanthrope"? Et quel était au juste dans sa pensée le sens de cette image?

¹ *Œuvres Complètes de Petrus Borel Le Lycanthrope*, 1922.

Elle apparaît pour la première fois chez lui dans la Préface—datée de Novembre 1831—de ses *Rhapsodies* publiées en 1832:

"Oui, je suis républicain, comme l'entendrait un loup-cervier: mon républicanisme c'est de la lycanthropie! . . . J'ai besoin d'une somme énorme de liberté! la République me la donnera-t-elle? Je n'ai pas l'expérience pour moi. Mais quand cet espoir sera déçu, comme tant d'autres illusions, il me restera le Missouri!" Dans ces lignes la lycanthropie de Petrus Borel c'est tout simplement l'instinct sauvage de liberté. C'est de cela que pour lui le loup-cervier est le symbole. En fait le loup-cervier, si on en croit le dictionnaire, est un félin carnassier qui vit dans certaines montagnes et dont le nom vient de ce qu'il passe pour s'attaquer aux cerfs. On ne le voit pas très bien comme emblème de "républicanisme" mais on le voit très bien comme emblème de liberté. Petrus Borel, quand il écrivait ces lignes en 1831, avait l'air de ne pas savoir que lycanthrope veut dire non pas le loup-cervier mais le loup-garou, le *werewolf* du folklore, c'est-à-dire l'homme-loup. Son surnom n'est pas—au moins dans l'abord—une déclaration de férocité comme semble le croire dans son excellente étude M. Aristide Marie. Plus tard il a pu se complaire à des allures de misanthropie sadique mais sa lycanthropie prise à la lettre et à l'origine ce n'est pas du tout cela. La promesse ou la menace que notre homme fait d'émigrer au Missouri, si la République le déçoit, est tout bonnement celle d'un Rousseauiste truculent qui a lu le vicomte de Chateaubriand et les prospectus d'émigration.

Deux ans après la date du passage en question, en 1833, dans le titre même de *Champavert, Contes Immoraux*, notre homme signe Petrus Borel, le Lycanthrope. Cette fois il s'affuble bien nettement de la peau de ce loup dont la Préface des *Rhapsodies* ne nous donnait encore que l'ombre. Il passe de l'abstrait au concret, au personnel. Dans une des nouvelles qui composent *Champavert* intitulée *Three Fingered Jack*, on lit ce signalement du héros qui est une sorte de projection du Moi déchaîné de l'auteur: "Jack était une de ces organisations fortes, un de ces cerveaux puissants, nés pour dominer, qui manquant d'air dans l'étroite cage où le sort les a jetés, dans cette société qui veut tout courber, tout rapetisser à la taille vulgaire, rompent à tout jamais avec les hommes qu'ils exècrent, s'ils ne rompent avec la vie."

Ici le thème lycanthrope est bien sinon celui de la férocité, du moins celui de la misanthropie nihiliste. Il y a "progrès" par rapport à la lycanthropie de la Préface des *Rhapsodies* laquelle n'était encore que soif et fièvre de liberté. Tout se passe comme si, cette fois, Petrus Borel s'était avisé que le vrai sens de lycanthrope c'est loup-garou, *werewolf* et non loup-cervier. Il serait infiniment curieux de se demander si le poids et la force de ce terme de lycanthropie n'ont pas été révélés à notre homme entre la Préface de 1831 (où il l'a écrit d'abord) et *Champavert* de 1833 (où il lui rend son sens plein et tragique).

Ce caractère forcé et, si j'ose dire, l'air de "cheveux sur la soupe" avec lesquels l'idée de lycanthropie apparaît chez Petrus m'ont amené à me demander ce qui lui a suggéré d'associer avec sa propre personne ce terme de lycanthropie. Or je crois savoir que cet accouplement a été inspiré à notre homme par une association d'idées qui avait été réalisée fortuitement, bien avant lui, entre le mot *lycanthropie* et le mot *Borelise* (lequel évoquait bien nettement son nom de Borel). Cet accident s'était produit dans le *Francion* de Sorel (1623). Voici le passage:

"Mademoiselle, votre mérite qui reluit comme une lanterne d'oublieux est tellement capable d'obscurcir l'éclipse de l'aurore qui commence à paraître sur l'hémisphère de la *Lycanthropie*, qu'il n'y a pas un gentilhomme à la cour qui ne veuille être frisé à la *Borelise* pour vous plaire" (*Francion*, édition Colombey, page 243).

Dans ce passage j'ai souligné par des italiques les deux mots en vedette: *Lycanthropie* et *Borelise*. Quant au sens du passage il nous importe peu et il est peu probable que Petrus Borel l'ait mieux démêlé que nous. Au reste ce n'est qu'un amphigouri, un pur nonsens. Cela fait partie d'une déclaration burlesque de Collinet à la belle Luce après qu'il a bu "deux ou trois verres d'un vin de singe." Il suffit de penser que Petrus Borel qui était — comme tout son clan bousingot — extrêmement friand des écrivains de l'époque Louis XIII, a jeté les yeux sur ce passage. C'est cette association du vocable *lycanthropie* et du vocable *Borelise* qui lui aura suggéré à lui *Borel* son surnom de *Lycanthrope*. En conformité logique de souvenir avec le passage de *Francion*, c'est d'abord seulement de *lycanthropie* qu'il a parlé dans sa Préface des *Rhapsodies*. Un peu plus tard il en a dégagé son sobriquet. Mais c'est toujours le vieux Sorel qui montre l'oreille à travers la peau de notre *Lycanthrope*.

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FAUS-SEMBLANT, FAUVEL, AND RENART LE CONTREFAIT: A STUDY IN KINSHIP

VERY few characters in French medieval literature deserve to be designated as types. There are, however, three names that stand out prominently in a rather barren period: Faus-Semblant, Fauvel, and Renart le Contrefait. By Faus-Semblant¹ is meant the religious hypocrite who was to culminate much later in Tartufe. Fauvel is the renowned horse, the symbol of Vain Glory, much sought after by rich noble, poor man, and even the Pope himself.² Renart le Contrefait is the inspiration of a long poem treating the master deceiver.³ These three characters, conceived within half a century of each other, are interesting not only because their biting satire makes them the most representative creations of their time, but because of their close kinship. Being almost contemporary they shall be treated as blood cousins or brothers. To trace Faus-Semblant (1277) into Fauvel (1310) and then into Renart le Contrefait (1319) is the aim of this study.

Faus-Semblant, the first of the three, was a product of Jean de Meun when allegorical literature was at its height. He, however, along with other figures in the *Roman de la Rose*, such as La Vieille and Male Bouche, ceases to be a mere symbol and becomes, to a certain extent, a living being. But Benedetto has every reason for saying that Faus-Semblant is the "creatura più viva, più originale e più popolare del *Roman de la Rose*."⁴ Probably one thing that makes him more

¹ *Roman de la Rose*, (R. de la R.), ed. by E. Langlois, Paris, 1914-24, 3 vols.

² *Roman de Fauvel*, (R. de F.), ed. by Langfors, Paris, 1914-19.

³ *Roman de Renart le Contrefait*, (R. le C.), ed. by Raynaud et Lemaitre, Paris, 1924, 2 vols.

⁴ L. Benedetto, *Il "Roman de la Rose" et la letteratura italiana*, p. 67, Halle, 1910. (Cf. *Beiblätter zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXI, 1910).

important than the others is the fact that he was invented for a special occasion. The God of Love is organizing an army to storm the castle where the fair prisoner is held. A new recruit arrives and being short of soldiers — even if this new personage is undesirable — the general names Faus-Semblant "reis des ribaux." The complete lineage of Faus-Semblant is not necessary and Jean de Meun simply explains:

"Baraz engendra Faus-Semblant,
Qui va les cueurs des genz emblant,
Sa mere ot non Ypocrisie."⁵

Dame Astenance defends Faus-Semblant before the God of Love who is naturally shocked at the customs of the new soldier. Later, Dame Astenance is ready to give birth to the Anti-Christ, a child of Faus-Semblant. The general needs a past master in the art of deception to dispose of Male Bouche, the sentinel. Faus-Semblant, dressed as a Dominican, and Dame Astenance, as a "Beghine," volunteer for the perilous undertaking. Faus-Semblant can play the part of a priest so effectively that he soon has Male Bouche on his knees confessing his sins. While in this defenseless position, Faus-Semblant seizes Male Bouche, strangles him, and cuts out his tongue as a trophy.⁶ This brutal act, committed while a man was praying, could mean either that it left the girl free to licentious actions — since her chaperon was dead — or that it was a blow directed toward the slanderers of the age. Still others would take it as a criticism against the four mendicant orders who were known to be mortal enemies of Jean de Meun.

The second poem, the *Roman de Fauvel*, displays a satirical picture of the times written in two books: "Das erste Buch ist 1310, das zweite 1314 entstanden."⁷ It is not at all improbable that Gervais du Bus (if he were the author) knew Jean de Meun personally since they were both at the court of Philippe le Bel. We know for certain that the author of *Fauvel* read and respected the *Roman de la Rose* for he distinctly says:

"Et qui en veust savoir la glose
Si voist au Roumans de la Rose."⁸

These two lines are very significant at this place because they were written immediately following a detailed description of Faus-Semblant and Ypocrisie, depicted not as statues on the garden wall but as human beings. Then feeling that his picture is inadequate, the author says that if the reader should desire more information about Faus-Semblant, let him turn to the *Roman de la Rose*. It is not the primary purpose here to prove that the *Roman de la Rose* served as a genesis for *Fauvel*. There are, however, many similar lines which give us reason to think so. For example, the *Roman de la Rose* refers to the mating season of horses which is arranged two by two: "morel" with "morele" and "fauvel" with "fauvele."⁹ The *Roman de Fauvel* associates the words:

⁵ *R. de la R.*, v. 10467.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 12044.

⁷ R. Hess, "Der Roman de Fauvel," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXVII, 297.

⁸ *R. de F.*, v. 1598.

⁹ *R. de la R.*, v. 14078.

"Et tuit ly prince temporel
Torchant miex Fauvel que morel."¹⁰

Fauvel, the anti-hero, is a horse possessing deceit, hypocrisy, and a certain magic to attract admirers. To rub or "curry Fauvel" was an expression applied to the act of seeking favor in an illegitimate manner. Riches and honor came readily to all those who even touched the deceptive horse. The phrase, "torcher Fauvel," which made the fortune of the poem, "était si répandue qu'elle a passé en anglais: 'to curry Fauvel,' estriller Fauvel, et s'employait pour tromper, faire le flatteur."¹¹ The first book describes the inconstancy, falseness, and many talents of Fauvel. In the second, Fauvel realizes that a person of his importance must leave children to carry on his name. Frustrated at an advantageous marriage with Dame Fortune, he is constrained to marry Vaine Gloire, and France is soon overrun with small "Fauveaulx":

"Hé las France, com ta beauté
Va au jour d'ui a grant ruine
Par la mesnie Fauveline."¹²

The third character is Renart le Contrefait whose deceptions form the body of forty thousand lines of poetry. The author, Evesques de Troyes, tells everything about himself except his name. We know that he was about forty years of age, that he had studied much, and that "clerc ne fu mais il l'ot esté."¹³ This rhymed chronicle, begun in 1319 and finished in 1342, covers a vast field of precious information in the first half of the 14th century. The author wants it distinctly known that his *Renart le Contrefait* is not simply another compilation of the old Renart stories as the three preceding: *Roman de Renart*, *Le Couronnement de Renart*, and *Renart le Nouveau* or *Le Nouveau Renart*. Concerning this he says:

"Comment Reynard tant coïement
Ala gesir avec Hersent,
Comment ses louviaulx compissa,
Comment le leu s'en couroucha
Ceste matiere est trop sceüe."¹⁴

Then he adds to make doubly sure that readers know his aim:

"Mais j'en voeul cy une autre faire
Qui sera trestoute au contraire."¹⁵

The wolf, the donkey, the lion — all of old Renart's companions and adversaries — have no part beside this new *conterfeit* Renart:

"Pour Renard qui les gelines tue,
.....
N'est pas ce livre commenciez,
Mais pour cellui qui a deux mains,
Dont il sont en cest ciecle mains,

¹⁰ *R. de F.*, v. 1689.

¹¹ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXII, 115.

¹² *R. de F.*, v. 3254.

¹³ *R. le C.*, v. 34342.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 3231.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 3240.

Qui ont la chappe Faulx Samblant
 Qui va les coeurs des gens emblant."¹⁶

Thus, it seems that this writer, as well as the author of Fauvel, is consciously modelling his hero on the well-known Faus-Semblant. This is very natural since Faus-Semblant already has an enviable reputation which is evidently coveted by Renart le Contrefait. It is needless to look for a story in *Renart le Contrefait*, for, like Jean de Meun, the Evesques digresses often, simply presenting a group of "caractères" or "portraits". Renart is eternally seeking a new occupation and, as he goes from one to another, he very bitterly satirizes each. This satire, subject matter, and style are all indicative of the author's debt to the *Romen de la Rose*. It may be mentioned in passing that the motto in Fauvel, "torcher Fauvel", occurs many times in its original sense in *Renart le Contrefait*.¹⁷

Having made a brief acquaintance of each of the trio, I shall state that others have hinted at their close kinship. Pierre Marchand, in his *Dictionnaire historique*, reasons that, just as Renart is sometimes pictured in a monk's robe, so is the monk given the same conceit as Renart. He adds the interesting phrase: "c'est sans doute dans cet esprit que le *Roman de la Rose*, introduisant Faus-Semblant vêtu d'un habit de moine, lui prête ces paroles,

J'aim meaux devant les genz ourer
 Et afubler ma renardie
 Dou mantel de papelardie."¹⁸

It seems, therefore, reasonable to say with Marchand that the old Renart was a literary father of Faus-Semblant. Despite the vigorous denials of the Evesques de Troyes, Renart le Contrefait still has many of the earmarks of the Renart of the "ancien régime." Again a critic has touched the subject under discussion by noting the similarity between Fauvel and Renart le Contrefait. He has found a picture of a donkey, a horse, a sheep, a cow, and Renart. The donkey gives orders while the sly Renart runs off with the hen. The "moralité" under the portrait says that when horses and donkeys are rulers,

"Et bêtes allèguent raison
 Reynard mangera maint oyson
 Soubz ombre des dissimulateurs."¹⁹

But there is still a more striking proof of the relation of Faus-Semblant to Renart. André Blum has brought to light, in his "Esprit satirique", the picture of a Renart standing upright (Renart le Contrefait) with his head and long tail very prominent, but clothed entirely as a monk. In one hand he has a "chapelet" and in the other a book. The "moralité" is, "l'habit ne fait pas le moine."²⁰ I do not pretend to say that this expression was first used in the *Roman de la Rose* but under the impetus of Faus-Semblant and Renart le Contrefait — both being false priests and dressed as monks — the line made a great

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 455.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 1693.

¹⁸ P. Marchand, *Dictionnaire historique ou mémoires critiques et littéraires concernant la vie et les œuvres de divers personnages distingués*, La Haye, 1758, I, 276.

¹⁹ A. Blum, "L'Esprit satirique," *Mélanges Emile Picot*, Paris, 1913, II, 435.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 444.

bid for popularity. It was in the same speech, moreover, where Faus-Semblant admits his "renardie," that "l'habit ne fait pas le moine" occurs. The priests, being the most educated class of this time, were much envied by Renart; and he sought to be like them. Ysengrin, in *Renart le Contrefait*, flatters Renart concerning his education:

"Vous estes clerc, sans vanité:
S'avez leu la Divinité."²¹

These two lines refer to the occasion when Renart asked the wolf to read the words on a blank page. The wolf, very naturally, could see nothing. Then Renart, full of his trickery, reads what he desires the writing to be, inventing every word. In connection with the monk and Renart, I have found a ballad by Eustache Deschamps entitled, "l'habit ne fait pas le moine"; and the end reads: "l'en congnoist mal le mouton a la layne."²²

The animals belonging to the old Renart repertory are ever present in each of the three poems. The *Roman de la Rose* contains "Tiberz li chaz", Belin, Isengrin,

"Le lou tant qu'il seit escorchiez
Ja tant n'iert batuz ne torchiez."²³

Fauvel is also an animal epic, for the bed of the false horse is made of material

"Semez de plusieurs bestelettez
De renardiaux et de goupillettez."²⁴

The counterfeited Renart mixes freely with his old companions throughout the entire story.

A second point of resemblance may be seen in the names of the three anti-heroes. Nothing could be more false than the name, Faus-Semblant; and he readily recognizes his deception: "c'est veirs que je sui ypocrite."²⁵ It is easy to picture such a character marching across the stage wearing brilliant clothes but morally stained within. As if Fauvel were not deceitful enough, the author has traced out an interesting etymology to suit the character of the horse. He takes the first letter of the following words to spell Fauvel: Flatterie, Avarice, Vilanie, Variété, Envie, Lascheté.²⁶ Gaston Paris has found that *fauve*, coming from the German, assumed a pejorative meaning because it was associated and rhymed with words of an indecent nature.²⁷ Under the influence of *fals*, *fauve* took the following meaning, as is evident by its use in the *Testament de Maistre Jean de Meun*:

"Quant ta parole est blanche et ta pensée fauve
Tu voles en tenebres comme une souris chauve."²⁸

In the 17th century, Pierre Bayle says, in discussing the history of this word in

²¹ R. le C., v. 2355.

²² E. Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Le Marquis de Queu de Saint-Hilaire et G. Raynaud, Paris, 1878-1903, V. 10.

²³ R. de la R., v. 11997.

²⁴ R. de F., v. 1269.

²⁵ R. de la R., v. 11232.

²⁶ R. de F., v. 247.

²⁷ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXII, 108.

²⁸ R. de la R., ed. by Méon, Paris, 1814, IV, 71.

the Middle Ages, that *fauvette* meant a man whose wife was unfaithful to him.²⁹ *Fauvette* was also in Philippe Mousket's *Chronique rimée*.³⁰ The name of Renart le Contrefait is, if possible, more a symbol of vain glory than either of the other two. He is very proud of his dishonesty and delights in the downfall of others:

"Par ung qui est par moy sauvés
XIII en ay a mort menez."³¹

Renart estimates that the countless leaves on all the trees in the forests would not equal the number of his sins.³²

Thus, full of sin and deceit, one naturally expects in Faus-Semblant, Fauvel, and Renart le Contrefait a common point of view on religious questions. When the general asks Faus-Semblant where he can be located should he have need of him, the deceiver replies that he has many dwellings but that he can best hide his false nature under the shelter of "l'habit religieux."³³ Then he begins to talk like a Dominican, telling how manifold are his talents, which are strengthened by having heard so many unlawful confessions. Méon, in his edition of the *Roman de la Rose*, has a rather naïve explanation of Faus-Semblant's nature. He reasons that if Faus-Semblant were elected "reis des ribauz", and if "ribauz" meant rebellious soldiers, then Faus-Semblant was king or the worst of a group of outlaws.³⁴ This satire on priests was rather an inherited affair with Jean de Meun through the teachings of his master Guillaume de Saint Amour, a deadly enemy of the mendicants.

Fauvel is practically as ironical, when dealing with the subject of the mendicants, as Faus-Semblant. These monks wear a religious robe but little good can be found "au jourd'hui sous froc." For all wicked priests, Fauvel is their master:

"Sire Fauvel est lor abbé,
Qui mout souvent entre eulz sermonne."³⁵

Neither is it surprising to find Renart endowed with all possible talents for deceiving under the guise of a friar:

"Mais Regnard est le souverain
qui de toute science est plain."³⁶

He confesses his relationship to Faus-Semblant and all false pretenders:

"Faulx Semblant ay toudis eü
Et traïson toudis sceü."³⁷

Faus-Semblant, as a proper name, is common in *Renart le Contrefait*:

"Faulz Semblant est avesques toy;
Tu est plaine de traïson."³⁸

²⁹ P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Amsterdam, 1740, II, 890.

³⁰ Hess, *op cit.*, 279.

³¹ R. le C., v. 25103.

³² *Ibid.*, v. 24756.

³³ R. de la R., v. 11012.

³⁴ Méon, *op. cit.*, II, 321.

³⁵ R. de F., v. 925.

³⁶ R. le C., v. 22569.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 25149.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 33375.

In connection with religion, Faus-Semblant possesses many remarkable accomplishments. By merely expressing the wish, he can change his entire appearance in a moment. Having no special shape, form, or dress, he changes to suit his environment. Now he is *chevalier*, now *prêtre*, now *prelat*, now *disciple*, now *maître* — "brièvement je sui tous mestiers."³⁹ In his turn, Renart becomes lawyer, doctor, astrologer, courtier, broker, and keeper of a house of ill-fame. Copying Faus-Semblant, Renart has an art named for himself, an art which consists in making white appear black and in turning the truth into a lie.⁴⁰ Fauvel, in keeping with his comrades, possesses the ability to change the course of the sun and moon. Renart predicts changes in the weather by studying the stars and cites the *Code*, the *Digeste*, *Divinité*, and *Platon* as proof of his holy words.⁴¹ The same Renart speaks both Latin and French (as does Faus-Semblant) and changes the growth of his hair to suit the country.⁴² Faus-Semblant says that he can have as many robes as occasion demands:

"Or sui none, or sui abaesse
Or sui novice, or sui professe."⁴³

Renart contains this expression in speaking of priests who change vestment often:

"Or l'ont vestu la robe grise,
Et l'endemain sont en chemise."⁴⁴

Fauvel, just after mentioning the *Roman de la Rose*, describes Ypocrisie, the mother of Faus-Semblant, as a marvelous lady who is sometimes "seculière," then "cordelière," or "Jacobine," as her fancy leads her.⁴⁵ Faus-Semblant is not at all modest when talking of his achievements:

"Seigneur, qui veaut traistres estre
Face de Faus Semblant son maistre."⁴⁶

All priests, Jacobins, Cordeliers, cling to Renart and his "Renardie":

"Trayent trestous a mon colier."⁴⁷

The meaning of this line corresponds exactly to the creed expressed in "torcher Fauvel." Even children seven years of age wait impatiently for the time to come when they can seize the collar of Renart.⁴⁸

Each of these representative types exerted considerable influence on other writers. Watriquet de Couvin, practically contemporary with Fauvel, says that no person can succeed unless he "curries Fauvel."⁴⁹ Guillaume de Machaut refers to a poem modelled upon Fauvel with: "ensi comme on torche Fauvain."⁵⁰

³⁹ R. de la R., v. 11189.

⁴⁰ R. le C., v. 264.

⁴¹ Ibid., v. 25193.

⁴² Ibid., v. 32310.

⁴³ R. de la R., v. 11211.

⁴⁴ R. le C., v. 25147.

⁴⁵ R. de F., v. 1575.

⁴⁶ R. de la R., v. 14749.

⁴⁷ R. le C., v. 25579.

⁴⁸ Ibid., v. 25581.

⁴⁹ Watriquet de Couvin, *Les Dits*, ed. by Scheler, Bruxelles, 1868, v. 89, 128.

⁵⁰ G. de Machaut, *Œuvres*, ed. by Hoepffner, Paris, 1908-21, II, v. 1716, 219. Cf. *Histoire de Fauvain*, ed. by Langfors, Paris, 1914 (A poem written soon after *Le Roman de Fauvel*).

The ironic spirit of Fauvel penetrated everything. Artists were advised to be satiric in their paintings. They were told to paint a boy currying a horse with the following words under the tableau:

"Je suis Fauveau qui désire à toute heure
Estre estrillé et devant et derrière."⁵¹

Guillaume de Déguileville in his *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* borrows Faus-Semblant as a model for his Lucifer.⁵² Déguileville furthermore uses many expressions which are frequent in *Fauvel*:

"De muer et bestourner
Le tort en droit et droit en tort."⁵³

For Guillaume de Machault, Faus-Semblant was a deceiver, "pis que Judas qui se pandi."⁵⁴

Petit de Julleville has found, in a comedy in the Middle Ages, two feeble-minded hermits who declare that they are regular members of the family of Faus-Semblant and his two friends. Their conversation, freely translated, runs thus: "when we are in the large cities, we are devout friars, but in the fields, we pursue young ladies. When we are near people who can be of some value to us, we sing songs and pray fervently. Elsewhere we are *contrefaitz*, singing vindictively with foul words."⁵⁵

But writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were not free to satirize openly the ills of their age. To overcome this handicap, each author invented masks or screens behind which he could hide and still say all that he desired. The Evesques de Troyes is very frank about his mask:

"Pour ce commence cest rommant
Pour dire par escript couvert
Ce qu'il n'osoit dire en appert."⁵⁶

The writer of *Fauvel* assures his readers that the ruler (horse) "est beste appropriée."⁵⁷ Jean de Meun apologizes for slandering women and foresees that a storm will break forth if the full sense of Faus-Semblant's words is felt:

"Je faz bien protestation
Qu'onques ne fu m'entencion
De parler contre ome vivant."⁵⁸

It is safe to say that of the three, Fauvel is decidedly the weakest. They all aim at human intelligence but Fauvel never quite reaches his high goal, despite a critic's reference to his "menschliche Persönlichkeit."⁵⁹ Faus-Semblant and Renart le Contrefait are really masterful creations for the Middle Ages. Their ability to influence a period started on its road to corruption by a shrewd and immoral Philippe le Bel, made them the most powerful characters of their epoch.

⁵¹ A. Blum, *op. cit.*, II, 437.

⁵² G. de Déguileville, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, ed. by Stürzinger, London, 1893, v. 11755.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, v. 10083.

⁵⁴ G. de Machault, *op. cit.*, II, p. 201.

⁵⁵ L. Petit de Julleville, *La Comédie et les mœurs au moyen âge*, Paris, 1886, p. 222.

⁵⁶ R. le C., v. 120.

⁵⁷ R. de F., v. 235.

⁵⁸ R. de la R., v. 15251.

⁵⁹ Hess, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

This trio, created for the special task of fighting the wrongs of their time, served and passed away with the Middle Ages. Faus-Semblant set the fashion to be copied closely by Fauvel and Renart le Contrefait.

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A POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF THE ABENCERRAJE STORY ON
CALDERÓN'S *EL PRÍNCIPE CONSTANTE*

IT WILL be recalled that in Calderón's *El príncipe constante* the prince, Don Fernando, leads an expedition to Africa and early in the campaign wins a victory over the Moors. He captures the valiant Moor, Muley, nephew of the king of Fez, after a heated fight. As the two warriors retire from the scene of battle Don Fernando says:

"Y puesto que triste vienes,
Tanto, que aunque el corazón
Disimula cuanto puede,
Por la boca y por los ojos,
Volcanes que el pecho enciende,
Ardientes suspiros lanza
Y tiernas lágrimas vierte;
Admirado mi valor
De ver, cada vez que vuelve,
Que a un golpe de la fortuna
Tanto se postre y sujete
Tu valor, pienso que es otra
La causa que te entristece;
Porque por la libertad
No era justo ni decente
Que tan tiernamente llore
Quien tan duramente hiere.
Y así, si el comunicar
Los males alivio ofrece
Al sentimiento, entre tanto
Que llegamos a mi gente,
Mi deseo a tu cuidado,
Si tanto favor merece,
Con razones le pregunta
Comedidas y corteses,
¿Que sientes? pues ya he creído,
Que el venir preso no sientes.
Comunicado el dolor,
Se aplaca si no se vence;
Y yo, que soy el que tuve
Mas parte en este accidente
De la fortuna, también
Quiero ser el que consuele

De sus suspiros la causa,
Si la causa lo consiente."¹

This passage brings to mind a situation in the *Abencerraje* story. After Rodrigo de Narvaez captures Abindarraez he notices the latter's sadness and remembering his valor speculates that his low state of mind does not proceed merely from the fact that he is a prisoner. Rodrigo, as does Don Fernando, offers the Moor help if he will confide in him the cause of his sorrow.

Continuing with the scene in Calderón's play we find that the story which the Moor tells to the prince is somewhat different from that of the *Abencerraje*, although he, like Abindarraez, has been in love with his lady since early childhood and fears that absence at this particular time will be disastrous.

Don Fernando, marvelling at the intensity of Muley's love and the extent of his misfortune, as does Rodrigo at that of Abindarraez, offers to free him without ransom while in the *Abencerraje* story Rodrigo grants Abindarraez permission to go on his way in consideration for his promise to return within three days.

Don Fernando then says:

"Y porque sé qué es amor,
Y qué es tardanza en ausentes,
No te quiero detener:
Sube en tu caballo y vete".²

Muley responds:

"Para el bien y para el mal
Soy tu esclavo eternamente".³

Rodrigo also realizes that delay will jeopardize the happiness of Abindarraez and hastens him on his way. Abindarraez, like Muley, expresses eternal gratitude.

These parallels would seem to indicate that Calderón certainly had the *Abencerraje* story in mind when writing this scene of *El príncipe constante*. But was he imitating the dramatic form of the story as related by Lope de Vega in his *El remedio en la desdicha* or was he following one of the prose versions?

In Lope's play Narvaez notices Abindarraez' sadness and remarks:

"¿Hombre de tanto valor
Siente tanto el verse preso,
O es las heridas?"⁴
"... a la libertad pierde el derecho,
Perdiendo en la prision el prisionero
El ánimo que debe al noble pecho.
Esos suspiros tiernos, ese fiero
Dolor, no corresponde a lo que has hecho."⁵
"Si es de otra causa tu tristeza fiera,
Dímela, que por Dios de remedialla."⁶

¹ B. A. E., vol. 7, Act I, scene 11.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Clásicos castellanos*, vol. 39. Act II, 11, 1878 to 1880 incl.

⁵ Act. II, 11, 1899 to 1903 incl.

⁶ Act II, 11, 1907 to 1908 incl.

The prose version relates this part of the story as follows (as Narvaez and his party went along the road):

"..... hablando en la buena disposicion y valentia del moro, el dio un grande y profundo suspiro: y hablo algunas palabras en Algarauia, que ninguno entendio. Rodrigo de Narvaez yua mirando su buen talle y dispusicion, acordauasele de lo que le vio hazer: y pareciale que tan gran tristeza en animo tan fuerte no podia proceder de sola la causa que alli parescia. Y por informarse del, le dixo. Cauallero, mirad que el prisionero que en la prision pierde el animo, auentura el derecho de la libertad. Mirad que en la guerra los caualleros han de ganar y perder: porque los mas de sus trances estan sujetos a la fortuna: y paresce flaqueza que quien hasta aqui ha dado tan buena muestra de su esfuerco, la de aora tan mala. Si sospirays del dolor de las llagas, a lugar vays do fereys bien curado. Si os duele la prision jornadas son de guerra a que estan sujetos quantos la siguen. Y si teneys otro dolor secreto fialde de mi, que yo os prometo como hijo dalgo de hazer por remediarle lo que en mi fuere."⁷

In the dramatic version after the Moor has told his story Narvaez says:

"Pero, pues tanto tus desinios daña

La dilación, no es justo que los pierdas;"⁸

and offers to free him on his promise to return within three days.

Abindarraez expresses his gratitude in these words:

"Beso tus pies mil veces, gran Narváez;

Que harás en eso, aunque es hazaña tuya,

La mayor gentileza que en el mundo

Ha hecho caballero generoso."⁹

The prose version covering this part of the story is:

"Rodrigo de Narvaez quedo espantado y apiadado del estraño acontecimiento del moro: y pareciendo le que para su negocio, ninguna cosa le podria dañar mas que la dilacion, le dixo. Abindarraez, quiero que veas que puede mas mi virtud, que tu ruyn fortuna. Si tu me prometes como cauallero de voluer a mi prision dentro de tercero dia, yo te dare libertad para que sigas tu camino: porque me pesaria de atajarte tan buena empresa. El moro quando lo oyo, le quiso de contento echar a sus pies, y le dixo. Rodrigo de Narvaez, si vos esso hazeys, aureys hecho la mayor gentileza de coraçon, que nunca hombre hizo, y a mi me dareys la vida."¹⁰

As can be seen from the above quotations Lope is following, in this episode, rather closely the prose version. It is therefore impossible to state whether Calderón based his scene on Lope's treatment or that of the prose version. There is no phraseology in the scene from Calderón's play which is identical with that of any one of those mentioned above. However, the passages quoted show such a great similarity that it seems probable that Calderón is here following the episode in the *Abencerraje* story.

W. C. SALLEY

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⁷ Quoted from facsimile of *El Abencerraje de Antonio Villegas, en Medina del Campo impreso, por Francisco de Canto, año de M. D. LXU.* Insofar as the episode under discussion is concerned there is no difference between the three versions.

⁸ Act II, 11, 2054 to 2055 incl.

⁹ Act II, 11, 2063 to 2066 incl.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

FRENCH LITERARY INFLUENCES IN POLAND
BEFORE THE PARTITIONS

FRENCH culture first reached Poland through missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church. In the eleventh century when Casimir I (1034-58) awakened to the fact that, during the wars of Mieszko II with Conrad the German, his subjects had been slipping quietly back into paganism, it was to the French Netherlands that he turned for help in checking this alarming retrogression. From Liège, which under the episcopate of Notger had become a centre of learning, Casimir called a colony of Benedictines and established them on the Wawel in Cracow. The close political and commercial connection of Cracow with Bohemia enabled it to withstand the pressure of paganism and spared it to be the fountainhead from which poured the civilizing influence of the French monks. Eventually the Benedictine Order in Cracow arose to such a position of importance that it was given the castle of Tyniec, around which arose a large abbey with jurisdiction over a hundred or so villages. Later, in the twelfth century, the Poles, to show their gratitude to Liège for the missionaries she had sent out into the wilderness, dedicated the Romanesque crypt in the Cathedral on the Wawel to St. Leonard, patron saint of Liège.

In the same century Mateusz, Bishop of Cracow, upon hearing tales of the magnetic personality and Christian ardor of Bernard of Clairvaux, ventured to address to him a letter imploring the apostle to come to Poland and arouse the sluggish Christians of that country. To prove that, though a Pole, he possessed classical erudition, Mateusz filled his letter with mythological references. Though the missive never reached Bernard, it shows, nevertheless, how eagerly the Poles were looking to France as the source of culture and light.

In the twelfth century Poland owed a considerable literary debt to France, for her earliest chronicler was the so-called Martinus Gallus, a French monk from St. Giles. Gallus lived a long time in Poland and became so devoted to his hosts that he undertook to repay their hospitality by writing their history. He also translated into Latin certain Polish songs, notably the songs in honor of Boleslaw the Great.

In the fourteenth century French culture reached Poland through other channels than the Church. Casimir the Great spent most of his youth at the court of his brother-in-law, Charles Robert of Anjou, King of Hungary, where French influence was temporarily strong. The new king had introduced into Hungary French notions of chivalry and had completely westernized the oriental court of the Arpads. Indirectly, therefore, Casimir came under the influence of France and conceived so great an admiration for the University of Paris that he attempted in 1364 to found a university after the Parisian model in his own capital of Cracow.

Through the medium of Prague French influence filtered into Poland during the fourteenth century. A close connection existed between Prague and Cracow at this time, for not only was the Bohemia-Silesia-Cracow trade route flourishing, but the royal families of Bohemia and Poland were intimately related by marriage ties. In Prague the French influence prevailed. Charles IV, in whose family devotion to France was a tradition, had himself spent seven years at the court of his uncle, also Charles IV, the King of France, and had taken for his wife a member of the French royal family. Charles was so thor-

oughly imbued with the French spirit that he modelled the university which he founded in Prague after the University of Paris. Between this central European oasis of French civilization and Cracow intellectual relations were friendly and frequent. Students who were unable to make the grand tour to Italy and France contented themselves with studying at Prague. In the latter part of the century Queen Jadwiga established numerous scholarships for Poles who wished to attend lectures at the Charles University. Through Bohemia, then, came a rich stream of French for the enlightenment of Poland.

Though the tone of the Golden Age of Polish literature, which fell in the sixteenth century, was Italian, Jan Kochanowski, the greatest poet of that age, was an ardent admirer of France. Kochanowski had studied in Italy and found there an agreeable intellectual milieu, but Paris, no less was also his spiritual home. One of his poems was written upon the death of Henry II of France:

"Ergo cum toties fortunam expertus utramque
Gesseris audaci maxima bella manu,
Cum te in confertos toties immiseris hostes,
Tela pepercerunt, Rex animose, tibi,
Nunc pace in media, cum ludicra bella cieres,
Raptus es ad Stygias sanguinolentus aquas."¹

France, too, must receive the credit for diverting Kochanowski from Latin to the vernacular. Ronsard, whom he probably met at the home of the Marquis d'Arbusson, encouraged Kochanowski to try his hand at writing poetry in the Polish vernacular as he was doing with the French. It was probably while in Paris under the influence of Ronsard that Kochanowski wrote his first poem in Polish, "Czego od nas panie" which was hailed with such delight in Polish literary circles. After Kochanowski's departure from Paris he wrote these lines about Ronsard:

"Hic illum patrio modulantem carmina plectro
Ronsardum vidi, nec minus obstupui,
Quam si Thebanos ponentem Amphiona muros
Orphaeve audissem Phoebigenamve Linum.
Delinita suos inhibebant flumina cursus,
Saxaque ad insolitos exsiluere sonos."²

Though Kochanowski never completely deserted Latin for the vernacular, most of his later works were in Polish, and to him belongs the credit for having first made the Cracovian dialect a literary language. Ronsard and the *Pléiade* were among the strongest influences in encouraging Kochanowski to turn his talent in this direction.

In the year 1574 Poland had for a few months a French king upon the throne left vacant by the extinction of the house of Jagiello. The contemptuous attitude of Henry and his French court toward Polish culture is reflected in the poem of Binet written on the eve of Henry's departure for Poland. Concerning the Polish language he says,

"Et me faudra retenir de rechef
Le rude nom de maint seigneur et chef

¹ Kochanowski, *Opera*, Warsaw, 1884, Vol. III, Book VI, Elegy 8.

² *Op. cit.*, Book III, Elegy 8.

Au dur parler de cest langue estrange
Du doux françois faisant entier échange."³

This attitude offended the Poles, and Henry was not popular, but the presence of a French court in their midst served, nevertheless, to arouse Polish curiosity about French culture and to dilute, at least, the intense worship of all things Italian that gripped Poland in the sixteenth century. Polish nobles sent their sons to France to acquire a western finish, and Paris came to represent for Poland the native home of culture and refinement. In the words of James Sobieski Paris was "un miracle; cette ville est non seulement la plus grande de tout le royaume, mais de toute l'Europe, mais de tout l'univers."⁴

Throughout the turbulent years of the seventeenth century Italian models set the standard of Polish literary production. But French influence upon Polish culture was steadily gaining ground, and in 1646 there began an influx of French manners and customs that permeated each year more thoroughly the whole fabric of Polish life. In that year a French queen ascended the throne of Poland. With a French queen sharing the throne of three successive kings, with a French candidate or two bargaining for the throne at each election, and with Louis XIV determined to play the major hand in Polish politics, France arose during the last half of the seventeenth century to a position of ascendancy in Poland and maintained that position unbroken during the entire eighteenth century.

French literary influence was intense and varied in Poland during the last century of that country's statehood. The Polish language was greatly affected by the increasing use of French, the Polish theatre was dominated by French plays, the ideas of French men of letters played a large part in the political and educational reform of the final days of Polish independence, and both poets and prose writers of Poland took their subjects and their style from French masters.

French dethroned Latin as the language of culture and refinement in Poland during the eighteenth century. From the nationalistic point of view this preference for French rather than the native Polish was fatal, for it brought about the loss of a native language which Skarga had long ago predicted. Polish, whenever it was employed as a literary medium, reeked with Gallicisms and blunders that arose from the author's greater familiarity with French than Polish. This is true, for example, of the work of that famous liaison between Poland and France, Stanislas Leszczyński, notably in his *Historja starego y nowego Testamentu* (*History of the Old and New Testament*) and his *Glos Wolny* (*Free Veto*).

The French language came to be the instrument through which the culture of western Europe reached Poland in the eighteenth century. Though Konarski bewailed the loss of a national language and its replacement by French, he straightway installed French, nevertheless, in the curriculum of his Gentlemen's College as the language second only to Polish, and he encouraged its study as the foremost instrument of all culture.

³ Binet, *L'Adieu de France au serenissime Roy de Pologne*, Paris, 1573, p. 16b. Quoted by Brahmer in *Język Polski*, July-Sept. 1929, XIV, 99.

⁴ L. Chodzko, *La Pologne Illustrée*, Paris, 1839-41, "Le Journal de Jacques Sobieski," p. 237.

The Polish drama of the eighteenth century was dominated by the French classical school. In 1646 when the Polish realm produced its finest spectacle for the festivities at Danzig in honor of the new French queen, the play was an Italian reworking of the Cupid and Psyche theme, the mood, the music, the ballet, and the verse were all Italian. During the whole seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth Italian opera and *opéra buffa* enjoyed tremendous popularity. But in 1661 there began an awakening of interest in French drama. In that year Andrzej Morsztyn, palatine of Mazovia, translated *Le Cid* and *Andromaque*, and the presentation of these two pieces was well received in Warsaw. But it remained for Stanislas Konarski to accomplish the firm establishment of the French dramatic tradition in Poland. It was he who laid the foundation for the Polish theatre on French models and proclaimed the classic beauties of Corneille and Racine. In his own school he encouraged the presentation of such plays as Corneille's *Othon* and *Polyeucte*, Racine's *Athalie* and *Esther*, and the plays of Voltaire. In the middle of the century the vogue for Molière reached Poland, and in 1765, when Stanislas Augustus opened the first national theatre, it was with a presentation of Bielawski's *Natreci* (*The Bares*), which was only a reworking of Molière's *Les Fâcheux*. Such pieces as Niemcewicz's *Powrót Posła* (*The Return of the Deputy*) and Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* were given both at the national theatre and at the charming royal theatre of Łazienki. French artists were imported directly from Paris to appear in French plays. It was Montbrun, *artiste* of the Paris Opera, who saved the Polish theatre when it was threatened with ruin. He presented alternately Polish and French pieces, gradually building up a taste for plays of the French school to counteract the persistent popularity of Italian operatic offerings. From the directorship of Montbrun the Polish theatre passed into the able hands of Albert Boguslawski under whom it flourished until the fatal year of '93.

Floods of French plays were translated during the golden years of Boguslawski's directorship. All of Molière was translated by Kowalski and parts by Bohomolec, the Jesuit comedy writer, by Boguslawski, and others. Most of the plays of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire were translated, to say nothing of Beaumarchais' *Figaro* and the works of a dozen minor French dramatists. French translations outnumber the combined translations from German, English, Latin, and Italian at least ten to one.

Native Polish plays of the eighteenth century were based in form and subject matter on French models. Bohomolec chose many of his plots and scenes from French comedies, and adhered strictly to the unities. Besides writing plays, Bohomolec founded the *Monitor Warszawski* after the model of *Le Spectateur*, the French edition of the English *Spectator*. Zoblocki not only translated French plays but wrote also original satirical comedies based on French sources but using Polish characters and a Polish setting, as in *Fircyk w zalotach* (*The Dandy's Courtship*).

The ideas of French men of letters were eagerly listened to in Poland during her last century of independence. Konarski drew from France many of the notions that seemed revolutionary in the face of the harsh, impoverished, formalistic education prescribed by the Jesuits. The incorporation of religious education in the school curriculum as part of training for life, the rule of love rather than fear in the schoolroom, the necessity for the school to be a sort of

second home to the child in its attitude of fostering care, such theories as these Konarski derived directly from Charles Rollin, and came home to try out in his Gentlemen's College. France became through Konarski the sole source of light for a Poland dark with impending disaster.

The educational theories of Rousseau, disseminated as they were throughout Europe, fell on fertile ground in Poland. The Poles had been shocked by Konarski and Kollontay into a realization of the mediaevalism of their educational system. They were ready, therefore, for a program of enlightenment. Inspired directly by the writings of Rousseau, Joachim Chreptowicz, Vice Chancellor of Lithuania, conceived the notion of reforming Polish education root and branch. The result was the appointment in 1773 of a Commission of Education, the first in Europe, and the establishment of the beginnings of an excellent modern school system in Poland.

Politically Poland was throughout the eighteenth century a laboratory in which the ideas that were seething in France were being tested. The Polish Republic which had for centuries boasted of its "golden freedom" was on trial. It is safe to say that every political thinker in France turned his attention at one time or another to the Polish situation. Rousseau, when implored to prescribe some magic panacea for the ills of the old Republic, wrote his famous *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de Pologne*. His abysmal ignorance of the cause of the Polish debacle is seen in his comment on the *liberum veto*:

"Dans un état tel que la Pologne où les âmes ont encore un grand ressort, peut-être eût-on pu conserver dans son entier ce beau droit de *liberum veto* sans beaucoup de risque, et peut-être même avec avantage."⁵

His advice in general was, "faites exactement le contraire de ce que fit ce czar si vanté,"⁶ a course which the Poles had long since pursued, to the negation of all authority and the destruction of the state.

Polish writers of the eighteenth century were the disciples of French men of letters to an extreme degree. Chmielowski⁷ asserts that the poets of the era of Stanislas may be divided into two groups: the first, consisting of Naruszewicz, Krasicki, Trembecki, and Wegierski, drew their inspiration from Voltaire and Montesquieu to the enthronement of reason; the second group, consisting of Karpinski and Kniaznin, followed Rousseau, Diderot, and Beaumarchais, emphasizing emotion. Satire, the inevitable product of a decadent generation, flourished in Poland as well as in France. In 1753 and 1754 Joseph Zaluski had translated some of the satires of Boileau. The vogue was quickly taken up in Poland, first by Piotrowski and Naruszewicz, then by Krasicki, the La Fontaine of Poland.

Polish prose writers of the eighteenth century were preoccupied with problems of politics and of educational and social reform. The principles which they tried to apply to Polish life were derived directly from France. Stanislas Staszic, the foremost reformer of the age, was a devoted admirer of French culture. Brückner says that Staszic "took his pedagogy from *Emile*, his conception of society from the *Contrat Social*, natural science from Buffon;

⁵ *Œuvres Complètes de J. J. Rousseau*, Paris, 1788-90, VIII, 362.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, VIII, 288.

⁷ Chmielowski, *Historia Literatury Polskiej*, Lwów-Warsaw, 1914, I, 475.

he translated poems of Racine concerning religion, he took his economic views also from the catechism of the French physiocrats."⁸ Nor was Staszic an exception to the general rule.

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⁸ Brückner, *Dzieje Literatury Polskiej w Zarysie*, Warsaw, 1921, I, 441.

REVIEWS

André Monglond, *La France révolutionnaire et impériale. Annales de bibliographie méthodique et description de livres illustrés. Tome I: Années 1789-1790. Tome II: Années 1791-1793. Index des Tomes I et II.* Editions B. Arthaud, successeurs de J. Rey, Grenoble, 1930-1931, 2 vols. et une brochure in 80.

Voici un travail que nous n'hésitons pas à qualifier d'admirable: pourquoi aurait-on la pudeur de la louange, quand, si souvent, la critique s'étale impudemment? M. André Monglond, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Grenoble, commence la publication d'un ouvrage qui est le résultat de quinze années d'efforts. Il y a mis toute sa science. Il s'agissait d'embrasser une production qui, au début de la période révolutionnaire, a été invraisemblablement copieuse; d'arracher au passé une foule de documents, dont chacun, même le plus insignifiant en apparence, garde un reflet de la vie. Il s'agissait ensuite de déterminer, dans cette énorme matière, ce qui avait trait, de près ou de loin, à la littérature. Et il s'agissait encore d'adopter un classement: tous ceux qui se sont occupés de bibliographie connaissent l'angoisse d'un tel choix, toujours arbitraire par quelque côté, et nécessaire cependant. Mais laissons la parole à l'auteur lui-même:

"Ce nouveau répertoire pourra peut-être contenter des curiosités diverses. Mais, dans l'intention de l'auteur, il est avant tout littéraire. Tout y est disposé pour servir à l'histoire de notre littérature, et, dans la mesure où elle éclaire la littérature, à l'histoire de la société, des idées et des sentiments. La division par années, comme toute division du temps est artificielle, mais on comprendra qu'en matière de temps c'est la moins arbitraire — D'autre part, il fallait pour chaque année trouver des divisions générales suffisamment simples pour convenir à toutes, assez souples dans le détail pour rendre la physionomie particulière à chacune. Donc quatre grandes divisions: I. *La vie française*, c'est-à-dire, le milieu social dans lequel se développe l'activité littéraire. II. *La tradition littéraire*, ou le rôle que joue le passé pour contenir et diriger les efforts de renouvellement. III. *Les relations littéraires avec l'étranger*: aux pressentiments français, aux aspirations obscures, à peine formulées, les œuvres étrangères apportent souvent un encouragement, et parfois des réalisations plus audacieuses. IV. *Enfin la littérature nouvelle.*"

Pour remplir ce cadre général (qui implique, à lui seul, toute une philosophie de l'histoire littéraire), M. André Monglond n'a rien négligé: Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèques de l'étranger, Bibliothèques de province, où gisent tant de trésors oubliés; Bibliothèques d'amateurs; Collections particulières: partout il a mené son enquête. Il connaît toutes les revues, tous les journaux du temps; il a lu tous les Catalogues de librairie. Sa moisson est d'une richesse qui impose l'admiration. Songez que son premier volume ne comprend pas moins de 1330 colonnes; son second volume, pas moins de 1166: et 92 l'Index, c'est-à-dire, la

table alphabétique des auteurs. On dit que notre époque est ingrate à l'érudition, que les travailleurs qui ont honoré le passé par un labeur presque surhumain ne se rencontrent plus aujourd'hui; voici, le ciel en soit loué, l'exemple du contraire. C'est un ouvrage de Bénédictin, de Bénédictin laïc. Il représente des fiches par milliers et par milliers; des fiches qu'ont animées et vivifiées une volonté constante et l'ambition de servir tous ceux qui, de près ou de loin, auront à étudier cette époque capitale dans l'histoire, qui s'appelle la Révolution, qui s'appelle l'Empire.

Encore y a-t-il des bibliographes qui ne sont pas des bibliophiles. M. André Monglond possède, au plus haut point, l'amour des livres. Son œil brille quand il manie une belle reliure ancienne; quand il découvre, dans un grenier, dans la boîte d'un bouquiniste, quelque édition rarissime, il exulte, et il marque sa journée d'un caillou blanc. Dans le vieux donjon qu'il habite, à Seyssins, près de Grenoble, la pièce principale, la pièce favorite est la bibliothèque; il caresse les livres, il les appelle; il leur parle; chacun est pour lui beaucoup mieux qu'un trésor; c'est une émotion. Je ne connaîtrais point par ailleurs cette passion, ces péripéties de la chasse, ces anxiétés de l'affût, cette gloire des tableaux magnifiquement chargés, qu'à regarder seulement sa *France révolutionnaire et impériale* je serais renseigné. Les volumes sont établis par un maître artisan, qui lui aussi continue avec vaillance une tradition que l'on prétend abolie: tradition de soin, de patience, de goût, d'affection, qui veut qu'un livre soit une œuvre d'art. Le papier, l'encre, la typographie, tout concourt à un ensemble parfait. Vignettes, culs de lampe, rivalisent avec les planches, qui sont nombreuses et fort significativement choisies. Il n'est pas un détail qui n'ait été médité, pas un ornement qui ne vienne à sa place. Rare aventure: cette bibliographie, qui aurait en quelque mesure le droit de paraître sèche, fait la joie des yeux; elle a sa place dans le coin des livres qu'on aime à contempler longuement.

Après cela, peut-on signaler des omissions? Peut-être. Peut-on faire des critiques, et parler de surabondance? Sans doute. Peut-on discuter sur la disposition des matières? Oui, je pense. La question n'est pas là. Elle n'est pas de savoir si, pour la première fois depuis que le monde est monde, il existe une œuvre sans défaut. Je dis que nous sommes en présence d'une œuvre qui suppose la réunion de tant de qualités diverses, qu'elle s'impose à tous ceux qui ont jamais mis la main à la pâte; d'une œuvre ample, forte, et belle; d'une œuvre qui fait honneur à son auteur.

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RIMBAUD TODAY

Marguerite-Yerta Méléra, *Rimbaud*, Paris, Firmin - Didot, 1930.

Jacques Rivière, *Rimbaud*, Paris, Simon Kra, 1930.

Raymond Clauzel, *Une Saison en Enfer et Arthur Rimbaud*, Paris, Malfère, 1930.

Lettres de la vie Littéraire d'Arthur Rimbaud 1870-1875, réunies et annotées par Jean-Marie Carré, Paris, Gallimard, 1931.

André Fontainas, *Verlaine - Rimbaud. Ce qu'on présume de leurs relations. Ce qu'on sait*. Paris, Librairie de France, 1932.

Rimbaud's literary chapel is fast becoming a many-steepled cathedral. Those he despised and whipped worship him. The intended victims of *Les Poètes de Sept ans*, *Les Premières Communions* canonize him; those of *A la Musique* erect him a statue on their public square. His spirit is deified, and also, alas, mummified.

The first book on this list tells the story of his life. Here is the last style in romanced biography, introduced by a native of Greece, and told by a lady from Missouri. M. Brousson is a past master in the art of the mock-heroic and heroico-comic. In this preface he is at his best, or worst. Rimbaud's, he assures us, is a case of puberty. "Nous avons tous cotoyé ces rives effrayantes. On reconnaît la crise des filles: c'est alors que leur vient l'esprit dans le sang et dans les larmes." His genius, his art, are those of any as yet untutored child. "Donnez à ce marmot un pinceau prompt et sûr, une palette diaprée, et ses ébauches passeront de beaucoup les toiles des professionnels les plus expérimentés. En littérature, c'est l'aventure du petit Ardennais." His "bégaiements harmonieux", so trying for his students, become then easily comprehensible, especially to a woman with the instinct of a mother. "Nos compagnes excellent à cajoler les petits, à les alléger de leurs ennuis, à les peindre. Qu'est-ce que Rimbaud? Un enfant. Du moins le Rimbaud qui nous intéresse." M. Brousson has had occasion to speak formerly through his slippers, to the great delight of people whose intelligence lies in their heels. In this introduction he speaks through his hat.

After this, anything would be a relief. Mme Marguerite-Yerta Méléra loves Rimbaud, — what she understands of him. Unfortunately she takes her Greek cicero in earnest, and so she lets the mother instinct in her speak. She sees the child embarked on a "voyage aux pays occultes, malsains et dangereux. . . ." She sees him under the spell of inspiration: "Il rejette en arrière ses cheveux, puis le coude sur la table et la tête sur son poing, dans sa pose d'enfant qui apprend une leçon, il réfléchit. Il regarde en face de lui le trou noir de la fenêtre . . . Longtemps, le veilleur reste immobile . . . Brusquement il saisit sa plume et se met à écrire," etc., etc. The scene can be found in the original in *La Nuit de Mai*. Mme Méléra confuses Rimbaud with Musset. However the Muse seems to balk, she hears the child. "Ça n'y est pas. Et! va donc! eh . . . chameau! Ah! Zut, ah! m . . . oh! ça me fait . . ." This invocation is authentic. "C'est très certain, c'est oracle ce que je dis", Mme Méléra might perhaps protest after Rimbaud.

However this literary mother doesn't know her child. Her documentation is fantastic. She makes of this terrible misogynist, a skirt-hanger, in Paris, London. "Il les jugeait intéressantes, Rimbaud n'avait jamais eu pour les femmes l'habituel dédain du mâle." This of the writer of *Vénus Anadyomène*. She knows him as little as his real mother did, whom, by the way, she sends on a trip to Paris to search for the lost *Chasse spirituelle*. And she maligns Rimbaud's teacher, Izambard, when she melodramatizes the story invented by Paterné Berrichon, according to which the pupil broke with his teacher as a result of the latter's parody of *Cœur volé*. M. Izambard, in the July 26, 1930, number of *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, readily disposes of this legend, and Rimbaud's own letter of July 12, 1871, equally disproves it.

This incident just about indicates the value of this biography from the point of view of Rimbaud the poet. It is nil. Had the writer confined herself

to romancing the story of Rimbaud the Abyssinian merchant, she would have fared better. For she has a charming style, imagination, movement, and feminine grace. But when it comes to the mystic realm of Rimbaud's poetry, she is out of her element.

* * *

Into that realm, only a man of Jacques Rivière's insight could pretend to serve as a guide. And I am purposely taking up his book next. After Caliban's mumblings, here is Ariel's song. It is not without its flaws. But it is a song. Rivière gives his readers a spiritual shower, much needed, indeed, after the Brousson-Méléra vaudeville act.

Jacques Rivière compares Rimbaud to a great river always preceded by alluvial muds to the sea. "Rimbaud est naturellement précédé par cet immense salissement." He begins with mud-throwing. This is chronologically incorrect. There is no mud in *Les Étrennes des Orphelins*, *Sensation*, *Soleil et chair*, *Ophélie*, *Tête de Faune*, *Les Poètes de sept ans*. It appears most violently in *Les premières communions*, *Sœurs de charité*, *Les Pauvres à l'Église*, *Accroupissements*. Had Rivière's spirit been free to judge and condemn, the reason could not have escaped his psychological insight. "Jamais homme n'eut plus naturelle la faculté de travestir, de défigurer, de souiller." The word "unnatural" would be more appropriate here. That is why this faculty was so ferocious in him. It was acquired; it was thwarted love and purity. *Credo in Unam* is very explicit in this respect. This violence and cruelty were impersonal, as Rivière recognizes, and primarily because they were aimed at institutions and not at individuals, at the Catholic Church, first and last, and at human society on the whole. His evolution to the condition of an integral rebel is a fatal and lightning-like consequence of his immediate disillusion with all the deceiving aspects of social and conventional revolts.

Rivière's main thesis is "l'idée d'innocence." Of what innocence? "Rimbaud c'est l'être exempt du péché originel." He grants that "cette idée n'est pas dans l'œuvre, si on l'y cherche, si on veut l'en extraire." But he feels it there. "Il convient non pas de l'analyser, mais de la palper, de la constater pour ainsi dire dans toutes ses parties (of: l'œuvre). Pas d'opération à lui faire subir, pas d'extraction à tenter. Tâchons seulement d'y reconnaître partout l'innocence." His method is thus defective in that he starts out and aims to find in him just what he seeks. "Tâchons seulement d'y reconnaître partout l'innocence." And naturally enough he succeeds in this, as he should were his quest not innocence but sin. I do not mean that Rivière's exegesis is wrong. He is a thousand times right. Rimbaud is innocent. He is innocent of any and every human virtue and vice. He is anti-human because he feels he is ante-human. But this innocence is after all only the key, or rather a key to the inner chamber of Rimbaud's secret. It is not the secret itself. And Rivière is misled to make such statements as these: Rimbaud "ne sait pas ce qu'il dit." Or he corrects: "La vérité est non pas que Rimbaud ne sait pas ce qu'il dit, mais qu'il ne sait ce que c'est qu'il dit." This is pure sophistry. Rivière continues: "L'incohérence de son langage n'est que le reflet de l'ignorance où il est de quelle est l'espèce de chose dont il parle." Rimbaud, he declares, "est au bord de ce qu'il lui faut exprimer, non pas au centre." All this is a confession that the critic himself does not understand what the poet is about, that he

himself is on the outskirts and not in the center of his subject. As I have already said, Rivière has found a key to Rimbaud's inner chamber, but he can't find the door to which it applies. Certainly Rimbaud's vision of his spiritual home is intermittent. He sees it only when his genius pierces suddenly the darkness of the unknown. But no other kind of vision is ever granted to seer or mystic. A continuous insight into the unknowable is the privilege of one being only: God. If he saw it permanently, the poet or mystic would not be seeking it. Nevertheless if he seeks it, it is because he has already found it. Pascal's truth is unavoidable. Rivière can blandly assert: "Rimbaud ne le sait pas lui-même ce que c'est qu'il voit et qu'il nous montre." It is Rivière himself who does not see because he doesn't want to or can't. Rimbaud sees the paradisiac shores of his native home only intermittently but clearly. After describing a fulgurant vision of it, he loses it. "Quels bons bras, quelle belle heure me rendront cette région d'où viennent mes sommeils et mes moindres mouvements?" It is his native home. But because he is exiled from it, it does not follow that he is blind to it.

Rivière is struck by the "caractère pour ainsi dire négatif" of Rimbaud's vision. His error springs from his own limitations, due, however, not to failure of critical acumen, but to his implied dogmas. Rimbaud's vision begins where Rivière's must end. He refers to "l'inconscience" of Rimbaud, to his "inculture mystique", epithets, it seems to me, rather inappropriate and inconsequent when applied to Rimbaud. They result from Rivière's method of applying to Rimbaud's work a sentimental or emotional method of analysis. He admits he cannot penetrate the meaning of poems like: *Silence, Comédie de la soif, Honte, Mémoire, Patience, Éternité, Bonheur, Age d'or, Fêtes de la Faim*. They seem to him examples "de ses tentatives absurdes et de ses réussites incompréhensibles." I was right then in maintaining that Rivière did not see what Rimbaud saw.

Many other controversial aspects of this work need to be discussed and in more detail. But it would lead me beyond the limits of a book review. Suffice it to say, that as with Paul Claudel, Rivière sees in Rimbaud a kind of John the Baptist. He sees in him "un merveilleux introducteur au christianisme." But he is that only for those who are predestined for it, and those need no Baptists. They take the road to Damascus willy-nilly. Rivière's last words are these: "Je n'accepte pas de laisser sans guérison la blessure qu'il a portée dans mon intelligence. Je la ressens avec application, je la médite, et peut-être ne pourra-t-elle être fermée que par les dogmes catholiques." We know that Jacques Rivière accepted those dogmas before he died. But there is another solution, that which Rimbaud adopted, which Rivière could not see or accept. "Il me sera loisible de posséder la vérité dans une âme et un corps." Truth, not dogmas! Rivière's essay is exquisitely meditated and written. But it is partial and dogmatic, alas!

* * *

Next we take up the enlightened exegete's analysis of this "va-nu-pieds littéraire", as he calls him. He turns away with disgust from Rimbaud's absolute self-liberation from all human and inhuman prejudices and shackles. "Ce n'est guère 'ragoûtant' de le regarder de ce côté-là." All that may be explained, it seems to him, by "l'hérédité, l'une quelconque des psychoses de la puberté ou des psychopathies sexuelles, sans oublier la paranoïa ambulatoire et l'alcoolisme."

The critic who resorts to such smoke-screen tactics, however, is explaining nothing.

Since this book is a sort of text, let me point out a few errors. On page 55 he speaks of the poem "*Les Amis* (habituels de la bibliothèque de la même)". There is no such poem. What he means is *Les Assis*, and they refer not to the readers but to the librarians themselves. On pages 54-55, 116, he writes constantly: *Premières communiantes*, *Les Accroupis* instead of *Premières communions*, *Accroupissements*. On page 60 we should read *Ce qu'on dit au poète à propos de fleurs* and not *Ce que l'on dit . . .* On page 61 we find: "celui qui allait devenir le poète inconnu . . ." M. Clauzel meant probably "le poète de l'inconnu." On pages 75 and 99 he claims that *Saison en Enfer* was written under the shock "de sa séparation d'avec Verlaine, son seul recours, Verlaine, dont il a été le parasite . . ." For Rimbaud, "l'heure de la *Saison en Enfer* est venue" And yet M. Clauzel knows *Une Saison* was begun in April, over three months before the drama of Brussels! Strange incomprehension? Equally irritating is his reference, six times at least, to explain Rimbaud's case, to one "qui a couru la même aventure que notre Rimbaud", to a "frère moral", the author of that best-seller in America — *Life of Christ* — Giovanni Papini.

There is one shining spot in the book, and that is M. Clauzel's intelligent exegesis of *Délire I* after a suggestion by Isabelle Rimbaud that "la vierge folle" was no other than "l'âme de Rimbaud, défaillante et égarée." For my part I subscribe to this interpretation without accepting it as settling definitely M. Marcel Coulon's thesis which seems sustained by recent discoveries of letters between Verlaine and Rimbaud. M. Clauzel shows by a brilliant collation of texts that the *Vierge folle* and the *Époux infernal* are but two aspects of the same Rimbaud, the two entities of his duality, the innocent soul of his youth and the frantic later visionary. The same duality is more clearly perceived in *Conte*. Unfortunately M. Clauzel distorts the value of his contribution when, for the advantage of his religious dogmas, he claims that in Rimbaud it is "la vierge folle", that is, the remnant of his Christian faith in him, that conquers in the end the "bataille spirituelle." But in every instance, where this battle is in evidence, it is, on the contrary, the *Époux infernal's* anti-christian attacks that have the last word. "Aux heures de détresse, ses regards (Rimbaud's) aperçoivent 'La croix Consolatrice'". He sees it only to reject it, however. There is, of course, Rimbaud's supposed death-bed conversion. What a man does in his semi-conscious, helpless agony can interest only a pious sister and the professional priest. M. Clauzel concludes with Claudel and Rivière that *Une Saison en Enfer* leads to Christianity. So does the Devil, but no one has yet claimed the Devil for a convert.

* * *

Here is next a welcome compilation of documents. The only new letters in this collection, however, are those relating to the Brussels episode. M. J.-M. Carré, who has already devoted a biography to the poet, can assume the same ex-cathedra attitude towards him as M. Clauzel. He divides his material into four sections: 1870 — *Le Collégien*; 1871 — *Le Voyant*; 1872 — *Le Malade*; 1873-1875; — *Le Maudit*. It is comprehensible for a poet to speak of a *Saison en Enfer* because he speaks in symbols. But the critic has no such justification. With him words tell exactly what they say. Does M. Carré mean that *Illuminations* is the

work of a *malade*? His only text in this section consists of the letter of "Juinphe", 1872. That, the critic might argue, is the letter of a madman. "We are all madmen on this stage" the poet might retort, "but only in your eyes and from your point of view."

A few inaccuracies have escaped M. Carré's erudite perspicacity. The poem signed *Alcide Bava* should read: *Ce qu'on dit au poète à propos de fleurs*, and not *Ce que dit le poète* . . . The fanciful and fantastic letter addressed by Isabelle Rimbaud to the *Petit Ardenais* to defend, she thought, the memory of her brother, is dated December 19, 1891, and not December 15, 1891. Finally, an incomprehensible anachronism. M. Carré writes of Rimbaud: "Il épuiserait le Parnasse aussi rapidement que le Romantisme et le Symbolisme." To what "Symbolisme" is M. Carré referring? The movement came to life years after Rimbaud's divorce from literature, and somewhat as an aftermath of his poetry. It sprang from Rimbaud, in part, and not *vice versa*.

The letters of Rimbaud to Verlaine from London came from the archives which the Belgian Department of Justice turned over to the Bibliothèque Royale. M. Maurice Dullaert, a lawyer, first published them in the review *Nord*, November 1930, accompanied by an interpretation which equals in its severity that of the judges in 1873. M. Carré is not far from sharing his point of view. No doubt seems to him possible any longer "sur le caractère des relations de Verlaine et de Rimbaud." But to doubt still and always is one of the most precious of the critic's privileges. He speaks also of "certaines lettres de Verlaine très compromettantes pour la moralité de Rimbaud" in the possession of a Parisian bibliophile of his acquaintance. He does not give us these letters, but I believe they are the same as those we find in the book of M. André Fontainas, in connection with which, it will be easier to follow up this problem.

* * *

Of the four letters in question only one is truly damaging, that of May 18, 1873. Verlaine is convalescing at Jehonville, not far from Charleville. Whereas in the letters of Rimbaud from London we find such equivocal expressions as "Je te jure que je serai bon. Non, tu ne peux m'oublier. Moi je t'ai toujours là. Dis, réponds à ton ami. Est-ce que nous ne devons plus vivre ensemble" — to which only cantankerous moralists could object — a passage from the letter referred to above might seem self-condemnatory. I cannot quote it, however, because such words are not printed in America ordinarily. The reader will find them on page 58 of M. Fontainas's book. *The Figaro* of April 2, 1932, has published in addition the whole of a letter from Verlaine to Rimbaud, which we knew in part, and in which certain passages are just as outspoken as this one. Anyone acquainted with the life and manners of underworld dens in London and New York, will readily recognize in such expressions the freedom of speech, the distorted amenities of language peculiar there, and perhaps not there only. Rimbaud and Verlaine frequented mostly, if not exclusively, just such ill-smelling, disreputable drinking holes. They were, moreover, as foreigners often are, most sensible to the coarseness and abuses of an idiom new to them. I believe this consideration might sufficiently explain the presence of any revolting terms in the vocabulary of a bohemian poet who has broken with all social and conventional proprieties. Moreover what other reality the words might conceal, is of no interest except to a pusillanimous magistrate.

Verlaine and Rimbaud came to know all the hells of life, and perhaps they passed through the fires of Sodom also. The lover of poetry must be satisfied with the poet's reply to the judge who questioned him: "Je ne veux pas même me donner la peine de démentir de pareilles calomnies." To employ the words M. Paul Claudel uses in another connection, I am one of those "qui l'ont cru sur parole." To persist in pursuing the memory of these two poets with this "crimen amoris" is, as M. Fontainas concludes, to fling mud at the stars. "La gloire est à eux, et sur nous rejaillit à cause de cet acharnement, la honte."

And, indeed, when, as in the present instance, I come to the end of a series of works devoted to Rimbaud, I seem to hear above the wrangling tumult of critic, exegete, biographer, interpreter, accuser and defender, the snarling voice of the poet flinging back at us his bitter challenge: "Prêtres, professeurs, maîtres, vous vous trompez en me livrant à la justice. Je n'ai jamais été de ce peuple-ci . . ."

S. A. RHODES

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Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy 1846-1861*, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1932.

As the title indicates, the task which Mr. Marraro has undertaken is to ascertain how the American people felt about the liberation and unification of Italy during the fifteen most productive years of that movement. It may be considered a companion work to the treatise published by J. G. Gazley in 1926 on the unification of Germany, a work which in a general way served Mr. Marraro as a model.

Because of the firm belief held by Americans generally in that epoch that their own government was superior to all others it could be assumed *a priori* that they would approve any effort made by another country to approximate the American form. Naturally interested in greater freedom for Italy, they would applaud the overthrow of foreign tyrants, and, remembering their own attempts to unite when revolting from England, they would look kindly upon the Italian aspirations for unity. But while such views might readily be assumed, no evidence has hitherto been available in a readily accessible form, and the extent to which our people sympathized with the movement for Italian freedom or actually participated in it remained unknown.

In fact the student of United States history who reads about the development of our country in the years just before the Civil War is likely to get a distorted picture of the interests and mental life of the people at that time. He is likely to think that the only public question of general interest was that of slavery and secession. He is apt to picture North and South as totally divided in their interests and attitudes and ready to fly at one another's throats, failing to recognize that there were matters in which both sides were in agreement. But the evidence shows that other interests, if they did not hold the center of the stage, yet occupied a large space in contemporary publications, and that foreign affairs like the Italian problem were eagerly followed by thinking people in the South as well as in the North.

In the case of Italy, indeed, the author was confronted with a superfluity rather than a paucity of material. His most important source of information

was the daily press, both news accounts and editorials, but magazines, the most important of which are listed in the preface, also proved valuable. Furthermore, government documents and the personal opinions of prominent statesmen and writers, as recorded in diaries, biographies, speeches, and the like, were utilized.

The newspapers which furnished the bulk of the material used are the New York morning dailies. The *Herald* and *Tribune* are cited most frequently throughout the entire period; but after 1851, when the *Times* began publication, it is given equal prominence as a source. At the very end of the period studied the *World* is available. Besides these there are rather frequent references to the *Journal of Commerce* and the *Courier and Enquirer*. Little use is made of the *Express* during its lifetime or of the famous penny paper, the *Sun*. In the evening field the *Post* appears repeatedly.

The author wisely gave especial attention to the *Herald* and the *Tribune* because of the importance of these papers in general, the emphasis which they gave to foreign news, and the influence which they had throughout the land. An argument for assigning especial importance to these journals and to New York papers as a class is the fact that papers in other cities reprinted not only their news items but also their editorial opinions.

It was of course not possible without making the book too bulky to utilize even occasionally papers of all the important cities. In the Middle States outside of New York City the sources cited most are the Washington *National Intelligencer* and the *Public Ledger* and *Press* of Philadelphia. No use was made of the Baltimore *Sun*. New England is represented mainly by a few citations from the Boston *Transcript* in the early part of the period treated, several from the *Liberator*, and at the close by papers published in Providence and Portland. The South is represented chiefly by the New Orleans *Picayune*, the Middle West by Cincinnati journals, and the Far West by those issued in San Francisco.

Although it is not likely that the inclusion of more material from the provincial papers as opposed to those of the metropolis would have materially changed the evidence presented, the appearance of more citations from other parts of the country would make the study seem more national in its scope. The great Middle West seems to be especially slighted with no testimony from St. Louis and practically none from Chicago; and we are inclined to wonder whether there was much interest in any foreign problem here in the interior. The comment of the Chicago *Tribune* under Joseph Medill, if available, might be more interesting and inherently more important than that of some of the less important metropolitan papers. The same thing might be said too about the Springfield *Republican* under Samuel Bowles.

Mr. Marraro's work is admittedly incomplete as it does not aim to cover the entire period of the *Risorgimento*. No attention is given to American reactions to the earliest efforts of the Italian patriots in the years before 1845. In the thirties, if the testimony of contemporaneous authors is truly representative, there was comparatively little knowledge in our country about Italian aspirations; and the view widely prevailed that the people were hopelessly sunk in sloth and infamy. By 1848 it appears that an unusual interest in Italian affairs had been aroused, and, though the old derogatory opinion still persisted in some quarters, the achievements of Italians themselves gradually overthrew such a belief.

The evidence shows that the majority of our people were wholeheartedly in favor of the Italian cause. The *New York Express*, however, in the one instance where it is cited, adopts an unfriendly tone toward the ill-fated Roman republic. It would be interesting to know whether this was its regular attitude toward Italy but no evidence on this point is available. The only important section of the population that opposed Italian aspirations consisted of the Catholic clergy and their parishioners, who because of the threat to the temporal power of the papacy, staunchly defended the Holy Father's policies. The faithful in this country, who had none of the experience of Europeans with a political papacy, found themselves unable to maintain their spiritual allegiance to the Pope and, at the same time, repudiate his governmental policies. Accordingly they contributed liberally to oppose Italian unity. Our diplomatic officials in Italy were also inclined to be unsympathetic toward national aspirations. While instances occur in which a consul proclaimed his sympathies, as at Venice in 1847 and at Rome in 1849, other officials such as Lewis Cass, Jr., chargé in the Papal States, J. A. Binda, a native of Italy and consul at Leghorn, H. H. Barstow, consul at Palermo, and especially John M. Daniel, the representative at the Sardinian capital, showed the opposite attitude.

The friends of Italy in the United States did not limit themselves to passing resolutions at mass meetings but collected considerable sums to send abroad. A number of Americans even enrolled under Garibaldi. With the exception of the Catholic press our papers regularly gave their support to anything that in their opinion would aid Italy. Of course during most of period covered the conduct of the leaders and soldiers of Italy was such as to make it easy to praise them. At the proper place appears a certain amount of the criticism levelled at the unfortunate Charles Albert; it would be interesting to have still more of the opinions of contemporary Americans about this enigmatical character.

The book as a whole represents an important task well executed. It is a valuable addition to the literature of the *Risorgimento*, a movement about which the present generation of Americans knows little. The material is carefully and systematically arranged; and the variety in details keeps the study from becoming monotonous. It is provided with a bibliography and a good index. Its appearance is excellent. The reviewer has, however, noted some misprints and minor inaccuracies.¹

Occasionally the notes do not contain the name of the paper mentioned in the text, either the reference is missing or a different name appears. For some reason, when the *Newark Advertiser* is quoted the issue used is never cited as is done with other papers (see p. 246, note 100 and p. 257, note 142). Note 111, p. 89, should refer to the *Daily Express* rather than to the *Daily Tribune*. On

¹ Words misspelled are: homo, p. 15; oppression, p. 36; obstinacy, p. 44; impossibility, p. 48; *République*, pp. 86 and 167 and Index, p. 343; *Siècle*, p. 86 and Index p. 344; amnesties, p. 122; disavowal, p. 136; Semi-Weekly, p. 144, note 148; Savonarola, p. 146; Bedloe's, p. 175 and Index, p. 333; secular, p. 264; Congrès, p. 290; Catiline, p. 319. On p. 113 *four lines of battle ships* should be *four line-of-battle ships*; on p. 131 *lands* apparently should be *bands*; on p. 164 read *would* instead of *could* and on p. 254 *scrape* instead of *scrap*. On p. 310 the contrast requires *political* rather than *practical*. The article, definite or indefinite, has occasionally dropped out, as in the phrases: *evils of Italian body politic*, p. 16; *under despotic sovereign*, p. 39; *with duel*, p. 193. The period is sometimes omitted before numbers referring to footnotes, as on pp. 229, 281. On p. 236 the sentence beginning *In unfurling* should be revised or have the punctuation modified. The second quotation on p. 25 like others should not be leaded.

the same page the reference to note 113 should be deleted and the note transferred to the next page. In note 136, p. 141, change *Unionist* from Roman to italics. Note 204, p. 158, should apparently cite the *Newark Advertiser* rather than the *New York Tribune*; note 11, p. 167, should refer to the *New York Sun* rather than to the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*; note 62, p. 177, should refer to the *New York Journal of Commerce* as well as others cited; note 143, p. 257, fails to cite the same paper.

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Dragutin Subotić, *Yugoslav Popular Ballads*, Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1932, xvi + 288 pp.

This volume is the first serious attempt to trace in English the history of the Yugoslav popular ballads, especially those dealing with the cycles of the Battle of Kosovo and Marko Kraljević; and like all the work of Dr. Subotić, it is worthy of the highest praise. It fills a real need for all Slavonic scholars.

But the book is more than this, for it throws considerable light upon the field of Romance influence. Dr. Subotić studies the relations of these ballads to the Castilian romances, and he shows that there is abundant evidence that these Balkan poems were composed on the model of the Spanish songs of the Middle Ages. In this connection he brings together extensive data of the relations between Spain and the Republic of Dubrovnik in the early days which will be of value for all who are tracing Spanish influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In still another chapter there is much of interest to the scholars of French, for Dr. Subotić devotes one chapter to the growth of knowledge of these songs in France as well as in other countries. Here there is really much that is extraordinary, when we think of the exceedingly clever deceit of Prosper Mérimée who composed his collection of spurious Illyrian ballads, *La Guzla*, with practically no knowledge of the subject, and yet so deceived the Russian poet Pushkin that the latter translated them from French into Russian as original Yugoslav poems.

The volume by Dr. Subotić contains much more that is interesting; and the general student of the expansion of Romance influence in the Slavonic countries and of Slavonic influence upon the Latin literatures cannot fail to find it a most valuable volume.

CLARENCE A. MANNING

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Lois Strong, *Bibliography of Franco-Spanish Literary Relations (Until the XIXth Century)*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., New York, 1930, 71 pp.

Few people realize how little has been done in the organization of the mass of ever-increasing bibliographical material in any field of comparative literature. Lanson and Betz, for instance, each lists scarcely more than a hundred titles in the Franco-Spanish field. Since the publication of these bibliographies many new studies have appeared and are still appearing, sometimes in widely scattered periodicals. Scholars therefore will welcome this initial attempt to present in concise, well-organized form the possibilities of this most important

field of comparative literature, its scope, its ramifications, its many unsolved problems. Such a work moreover serves a real need in the general literary field by providing a valuable and rapid survey of the main trends of Spanish-French and French-Spanish literary influence for those not well acquainted with Spanish literature.

The author does not pretend to have made an exhaustive study of the subject. Her aim has been "merely to give some idea of what has been done, to lay a foundation for further study of the field and thereby encourage additional research." And this she has more than accomplished since the bulk of the material has been sifted and all main influences studied so that any new work would be in the nature of a more detailed study of some special phase or a new approach to some aspect of the subject suggested by the results of future research. Catalan literature, for example, being a separate field is not treated here. No attempt has made to consult the Spanish provincial publications, which again would be a work in itself.

Within the purely French-Castilian field, however, the author has followed her sources fully and accurately. These are: Betz-Baldensperger, *La Littérature Comparée, Essai Bibliographique*; Lanson, *Manuel Bibliographique*; the *Bibliografía* of Fitzmaurice-Kelly; those published in each number of the *Revue Hispanique*; Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie hispano-française*; and finally all the important works on any notable phase of the literary relations between the two countries. To these should be added a large number of articles published in American, English, French, German and Spanish periodicals. Direct references are given to pages and a concise statement made of the material treated, frequently followed by mention of the review of the work with some estimate of its scope and accuracy.

The book is divided into four parts, — the Middle Ages, the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. It is well arranged, presenting first the general bibliographical and then the specific material of each period listed under general and miscellaneous works, Spanish and French influences. There are special sections devoted to the *Cid*, the *Arthurian Legend*, *Floire et Blancheflor*, the *Amadis*, the *Don Juan* and the *Gil Blas* themes. The works of every important French author are immediately followed by their Spanish translations and imitations. The long list of 17th century French plays each followed by its Spanish source and grouped under authors in chronological order is also an excellent feature. The Spanish grammars, published in France in the 17th century, and the memoirs and travel books dating from the 13th through the 18th centuries throw interesting light on the relations between the two countries.

For the hurried reader, there are some improvements that might be made in the arrangement of the book. Would it not be more convenient to list the general and miscellaneous works chronologically according to genre rather than alphabetically by author? It might also be well to close each century with a section entitled: *Spanish Works Translated into French* with a cross reference to the list for that period in Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie hispano-française*, instead of mentioning this work only at the end of the 18th century, where the author gives a partial list of her own since Foulché-Delbosc does not reach that period.

As is natural in this field, much of the attention is centered in the 17th century drama but the French and Spanish epic, the "matière de Bretagne", lyric poetry of the Middle Ages, Brantôme, Montaigne, the romances of chivalry, the pastoral and picaresque novels, the Spanish reaction towards Jansenism, Voltaire and the *Encyclopédie*, and finally the French influence on 18th century Spain are all well presented.

This valuable work is a most important step in the right direction; and we may well hope with the author "that this attempt to organize the Franco-Spanish field may inspire others so that in a few years complete bibliographies will be available for all students of comparative literature."

JOSEPHINE DE BOER

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Ralph Coplestone Williams, *Bibliography of the Seventeenth-Century Novel in France*, New York, The Century Co., for the Modern Language Association of America, 1931, xiii + 355 pp.

There was need for such a bibliography. Research workers should be very grateful to Dr. Williams for having brought to light such a large number of forgotten works and titles. He has followed a happy plan in the three groupings of titles: 1) an alphabetical list of authors; 2) a chronological list of novels; 3) an alphabetical list of novels, this method making it possible to find quickly any author or title desired. One cannot but admire Dr. Williams' zeal in undertaking a subject of research which covers such an extensive field. The results, however, of this first edition are, as is to be expected, tentative. Erroneous information furnished by catalogues and by biographers and particularly by a faulty manuscript bibliography made by a certain Delcro in the middle of the last century has led to various errors which will undoubtedly be corrected in subsequent editions.

There is some hesitancy in certain technical methods of procedure. Dr. Williams indicates the number of pages contained in some works and not in others; and he does not always call attention to cases where a work bound in one volume is composed really of two volumes. Some titles include the name of the publisher, others only the place of publication, yet the publisher is sometimes important, as lending more or less authenticity to the edition in question, — some editors in Holland, for example, being particularly fond of "copying" (without leave) authorized Paris editions. There seems to be no definite system in regard to spelling and punctuation (the subject is not mentioned in the preface). It would perhaps be advisable consistently to retain the old orthography in titles. In only rare instances does Dr. Williams point out that a work was published anonymously, as with the *Histoire nouvelle de la cour d'Espagne*, which he attributes (falsely) to Mme d'Aulnoy. But a very large proportion of the works of the 17th century did not bear the name of the author, especially the *romans*, which were considered too frivolous a genre to be acknowledged publicly. Would it not have added to the value of the *Bibliography* to have indicated, in the case of doubtful authorship, to whom the *privilege d'imprimer* was accorded or by what initials the *dédicace* was signed, as these things sometimes help to solve the enigma of doubtful authorship?

Cross references are sometimes a little perplexing, as in the case of a title given under the name of Mlle Bernard as *Le Prince de Sicile, nouvelle historique*,

Paris, 1680, in-12, 3 vols., not found in the Arsenal; the cross reference to Pradon gives what is apparently the same work as *Frédéric de Sicile*, Paris, 1680, in-12, 2 vols. (instead of three as above), and as being available at the Arsenal, where, however, it is stated, *Frédéric* is spelled without the *r*. (I do not know of any justification for the spelling with the *r*). One would like to know more about the two titles, whether they belong to different editions, etc.

Dr. Williams wisely did not attempt to catalogue reëditions, but why then note (p. 79) that Prechac's *Duchesse de Milan* reappeared in the 18th century in the *Bibliothèque de campagne*, in which countless others of the 17th century romans were published as well? It would perhaps be more valuable to know that certain first editions were augmented in later editions, as in the case of Mlle de La Force's *Histoire de Marguerite de Valois*, published in Paris in 2 vols. in 1696, increased to 4 vols. in 1720 and to 6 vols. in 1783.

Aside from the above indicated technicalities, there is the more serious question of selection of subject matter. Just what constitutes a novel or rather a *roman* in French? The two terms are not synonymous, so much so that one can wonder whether France in the 17th century produced any *novels* in the strict sense of the word! Dr. Williams has used the term *novel* in its very vaguest connotation and has included therein everything from the *Princesse de Clèves* and the inexhaustible *histoires secrètes* to all sortes of memoirs and the shortest of *nouvelles*. Impossible again to be thoroughly logical, and yet if one includes Prechac's *Querelle des dieux sur la grossesse de Madame la Dauphine* (whose very title stamps it as a *pièce de circonstance*), should one not add an endless list, such as Mlle Lhéritier's *Triomphe de Madame Des-Houlières, recue dixième muse au Parnasse*, in which fantasy plays a larger part than in Prechac's *Querelle*? Mlle Lhéritier's *Avare puni*, a *nouvelle* of 40 pages, in-12, in *verse*, is given, but not her famous *Adroite princesse* or her *Enchantemens de l'éloquence*, which, by their length and treatment and in spite of the fairy element, are much nearer the *roman* type than her *Avare puni*.¹

All of the five titles ascribed to Mme de Murat need some correction. She is not the author of the *Comte de Dunois*, since she was only one year old when it was published. The *Histoire des habitants de Loches*, which Dr. Williams states is *not* to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale (without indicating where it *is* to be found) does not exist in printed form. In her important manuscript journal which is to be found at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mme de Murat gives a six page sketch, entitled *Histoire des habitants de Loches*, which is modeled after Le Sage's *Diabre Boiteux* (pp. 421-427). Dr. Williams states that the *Mémoires de la comtesse de Murat ou la défense des dames* is the "story of Mme Murat's (*sic*) life, not really a novel". As a matter of fact, even the colorful and wayward comtesse de Murat, whom Louis XIV deemed it wise to exile from his court, could not have experienced the highly fantastic and romantic sequence of adventures therein recounted, any more than the abbé de Villiers could have lived the life he depicted in his *Mémoires de la vie du comte Dxxx avant sa retraite* (which he ascribes to Saint-Evremond), to which Mme de Murat's *Mémoires* are a reply. Dr. Williams hesitates as to whether Mme de

¹ The date 1660 ascribed to *l'Avare puni* is evidently erroneous. I am not familiar with this separate edition (cited on p. 67), but it is not likely that Mlle Lhéritier published it 34 years before her next work, *le Triomphe de Madame Des-Houlières*, dated 1694. Her *Œuvres mêlées*, which contain *l'Avare puni*, are of 1695.

Murat or Mme Durand wrote *le Voyage de campagne*. It belongs, in fact, to Mme de Murat: there is plenty of internal and other evidence to prove it which I have not room to discuss here. If catalogues and bibliographers have assigned it to Mme Durand, it is because it is followed in the same volume by Mme Durand's *Comédies en proverbes*. We know from Mme de Murat's unpublished journal that the two authors were friends; they probably took pleasure in mystifying the public by publishing some of their works together. (Mme Durand is, by the way, a pen name, her maiden name having been Catherine Durand and her married name Mme Bédacier). Finally, although the title does not indicate it, Mme de Murat's *Histoires sublimes et allégoriques* are composed uniquely of fairy stories, a genre which had such a surprising vogue at the end of the 17th century, but which Dr. Williams rightly aims to exclude from his *Bibliography*.

Nodot's *Histoire de Mélusine* should not therefore have a place therein, since it is the story of the famous Poitou fairy, mythical founder of the house of Lusignan. On the other hand, one would have been justified in including Mme d'Aulnoy's second volume of *Contes nouveaux ou les fées à la mode* and her two volumes of the *Suite des contes nouveaux*, which are composed of fairy tales linked together by a lengthy love story.

Perhaps the field covered by the *Bibliography* is too vast to permit of deciding authorship in the so frequent cases of uncertainty, and yet that remains one of the most pertinent questions connected with the subject and one which, when carefully studied, often clears up bibliographical errors. I have already mentioned one or two such instances. Further examples may be found in the case of Mlle Bernard, who shares with Pradon the honors of *Fédéric de Sicile*. The fact that the numerous contemporaries who speak of her, including her relative and probable collaborator Fontenelle, do not mention *Fédéric*, make me doubt strongly whether Mlle Bernard had anything to do with this *nouvelle*. Perhaps a similar search in the case of Pradon would yield positive evidence of its authorship. One wonders, too, in light of the statements of the same critics, whether *Edgar, roi d'Angleterre*, ascribed both to Mlle Bernard and to Jouvenel in the *Bibliography*, but with the note that it is not found in any of the three Paris libraries rich in 17th century works — the Bibliothèques Nationale, de l'Arsenal, Mazarine — belongs to Mlle Bernard either, or even whether it really exists in printed form. My most recent investigations make me question whether Mlle Bernard wrote *Inés de Cordoue*, but the matter is too involved to discuss here.

Among the more important *romanciers* of the end of the 17th century is Mme d'Aulnoy, about whom some careful research has been done recently by the late Foulché-Delbosc, by Mme Roche-Mazon, etc. Of the ten works which the *Bibliography* ascribes to Mme d'Aulnoy, there are only six which she actually wrote, a fact easy to ascertain, as, incensed against editors and the public who falsely attributed to her numerous works which were manifestly inferior to her own, she twice made a list of her productions: in the preface to her *Nouvelles ou Mémoires historiques contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans l'Europe depuis 1672 jusqu'en 1679* and in her *Comte de Warwick*. Thus she did not write the following: *Histoire nouvelle de la cour d'Espagne*; *Mémoires des aventures singulières de la cour de France*, etc. ("par l'auteur du Voyage et Mémoires d'Espagne", adds the editor, hoping thus to assure the success of this

mediocre volume); *Mémoires secrets de Mr. L. D. D. O.*; *Nouvelles d'Elisabeth, reine d'Angleterre*. For a complete discussion of this subject, see *Un Episode littéraire de la fin du XVII^e siècle: la mode des contes de fées*, Paris, 1928, in-8.

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Alf Lombard, "*Li fel d'anemis*", "*Ce fripon de valet*", *Études sur les expressions de ce type en français et sur certaines expressions semblables dans les langues romanes et germaniques* (Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap utg. av Nyfilologiska Sällskapet i Stockholm, XI), Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala, 1931, 69 pp.

English *a brute of a man* or French *une drôle d'idée* might be labeled as curious an expression as may be found in any language, Indo-European or non-Indo-European. Except for certain differences apparent on the face of the two expressions just quoted and other differences which will appear in the course of this review, the two languages run exactly parallel in the essential structure of a highly peculiar idiom.

It is this idiom that the author of the attractive study under review has undertaken to analyse and to compare with the same idiom in the Teutonic languages. He has given us a neat, concise, and clear presentation.

The author notices the explanations offered in various works from Diez to C. Bally, A. Sechehay, E. Richter, and F. Brunot. The construction presented in *monstrum hominis*, known to Latin at an early literary period, is taken as the prototype of our Romance idiom.

While I readily admit that a certain cast of thought can persist long after the language used as the medium of expression of that thought has changed its form, — more specifically, its syntax, — nevertheless I think that the linguist should always have an eye out for a separate, independent development. I concede the difficulties often involved in a precise determination of the facts in such a case.

Meyer-Lübke sees in the type *le fripon de valet* the continuation of the Latin partitive *scelus hominis* (*Gramm. der rom. Spr.*, Syntax, § 240). But he refuses to connect unreservedly the other type, *la coquine de Toinette*, with *la ville de Paris*.

The author is correct in treating *fripon d'enfant* as distinct from *un temps de chien* and, probably, *la ville de Paris*, but *un chien de philosophe*, *une diable de peur* is the construction under study. The distinction is this: In *un temps de chien* the idea of qualification is comprised in the second element of the group. *La perte de la chute* is, of course, quite different from our type.

The author begins with the proposition that we are really faced with a construction formed of two substantive elements, the first, though sometimes adjective, really being substantive (p. 13). Further, he assumes that the Romance area occupied by the construction argues for the Latin origin of this expression. This seems to me not at all unlikely, but not proved.

As for the detailed syntax of this construction, the clear tendency is for the first term to be attracted to the gender and number of the second: *le las de cuer*; *la lasse d'âme*; *li felon d'anemi* (pl.). We even have *ce bête de valet*, *ce bête de raisonnement*.

I agree with the author that this is an expression of the *langue populaire*. Molière has it frequently; Corneille and Racine rarely. It still bears the fresh breath of popular usage. Modern French has a large stock of depreciative qualifiers: *fripon*, *bandit*, *voleur*, etc. An interesting extension consists of an oath as the first member: *un nom de Dieu de gaillard*. This is due, the author believes, to *diable*, which possesses a double character, — "ordinary substantive" and exclamation. The author remarks that all the qualifiers named here have one common primary, original character: that of expressing especially blame, dissatisfaction. The qualifiers of a laudatory character which can be used in this construction are very limited in number. This does not, I might note, apply to English, for English allows a *peach of a day*, a *bird of a bouse*, etc.

Un amour de robe is a new turn which many dictionaries do not mention. I am pleased to note that the latest edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1931) records the usage. Here one notes the masculine form in contrast to previous examples, but the plural is used when the following substantive is plural: *quels amours de cheveux*.

Ce faquin d'Argante uses a proper name. This is, of course, possible in English.

In *coquine de petite bouche* (unusual interposition of adjective) the adjective and the noun seem to form one semantic group.

The type cited on p. 38, *pauvre de moi*, very much alive in Spanish, is treated by Meyer-Lübke as entirely distinct from the type our author is discussing (cf. *Gramm. der rom. Spr.*, Syntax, § 234).

The adjective force of the first part is illustrated in the agreement in gender and number: *quelques fripons d'amants: ces coquines de bêtes*. But I note that the agreement of gender is most frequently rather through the choice of a masculine or feminine noun in this part: *filou*, *renard*, *ours*, as against *peste*, *garce*, etc. Of course, a substantive having two forms for gender like *chien*, *coquin*, would easily fall into this construction. In the expression *une nom de Dieu de vue*, it is the noun of the second portion that controls the gender of *une*. I don't believe that *nom de Dieu* and the other exclamations have become feminine. Nyrop's characterization of this as "assimilation anticipante de genre" (V, p. 49) seems to me not an appropriate one. It is not an assimilation, but an agreement with the last noun, the form or gender of which is present in the mind of the speaker before the word *un* or *ce* is uttered.

We now come to the use of *de* before the plurals *grands diables de* or *drôles d'auberges*. This seems to me rather due to the presence of the adjective. The construction has a learned or bookish flavor to me. That is, on the analogy of *de grands hommes* we get *de grands diables de*. It is not necessarily due to the fact that the qualifiers act like adjectives. The author's citations seem to prove my contention. He admits the usage is limited.

The comparative study is confined to noting certain Teutonic differences from Romance. It is too bad that the author has not found time and space to make a detailed study and analysis of English, Dutch, and German. This would have been valuable.

The English type appears to me to require a noun in the first member: *that devil of a man*, *beast of a husband*, not *those poor of men*. This is also the usual Dutch expression.

A curious construction in the Scandinavian tongues which does not exist in English or German is represented in Danish *din slyngel*. This is known to the Romance languages (Spanish-Portuguese): Portuguese *seu burro*. Between Swedish *din åsna* and Portuguese *seu burro* there is nothing but a "polygenetic coincidence", to use our author's terminology.

Curme thinks that *devil of a servant* was borrowed from French. The conditions indicate Romance influence on Germanic, the author argues. This genitive does not exist in Germanic, but is expressed by the preposition which translates the Romance *de*. A separate Teutonic development of this turn of expression is shown in the use of the article, our author points out. This, he contends, is independent of Latin-Romance syntax.

His rejection of the origin of the expression *din åsna* in such turns as *a vestra benevolentia*, Sp. *vuestra merced* > *usted* appears to me unsubstantial. He accepts the theory that in this we have the result of an epexegetical genitive arising from such expressions as *Stockholms stad*. That is, the relationship is one of denomination, appellation, rather than of real possession. He compares *du skålm*, *din skålm* to *urbs Roma* and *urbs Romae*.

In conclusion, I should like to observe that in a matter of phonetics or syntax it is usually a very delicate, intricate, and difficult task to find for or against a borrowing. After all, human speech organs are everywhere the same and the range of sounds used by the various languages is a comparatively narrow one. So also in the case of syntax. The principle of the psychic identity of mankind should be a maxim to every scholar. Still, borrowings are not only possible, but can be demonstrated and the linguist should be ever watchful of them.

In the present construction we have a turn that seems to fit very conveniently into all the languages using it. After all, the "genius" of a language is sometimes a vague, indefinite term. Languages are frequently flexible and adaptable, even as to syntax. At times, the investigator may run into the danger of over-analysis.

As far as the feeling of a present-day speaker of French is concerned, the *de* seems to me to be nothing more than a sort of glide word, — to use the terminology of phonetics, — a connecting word with no consciousness of subordinating the following noun. *Mon marquis de beau-père* is "my marquis father-in-law". *De* acts as a liaison. This does not explain the origin of the turn, it is true. But it correctly gages and analyses the attitude of the present-day speaker; and this phase, too, must be taken into consideration by the linguist. The present phase is just as important as a past phase. It surely is important if the linguistic scientist is interested in a complete picture and is desirous of predicting future phenomena.

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Lotte Risch, *Beiträge zur romanischen Ortsnamenkunde des Oberelsass*, Jena und Leipzig, Wilhelm Gronau, 1932 (Berliner Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie, hrsg. von E. Gamillscheg, II, 3), x + 74 pp., 1 map.

This work, one of those useful but often too little regarded studies in the field of toponomastics, can furnish the linguist with valuable historical controls, and, conversely, give to the historian a linguistic basis for some of his conclusions. Especially in such a region as Upper Alsace, where a definite speech-

boundary exists between two distinct linguistic groups, will the study of place-names help to confirm phonological as well as historical data.

In a brief introduction Lotte Risch points out the work that has been done in determining the etymological and chronological relations of Alsatian place-names, and defines the scope of her work. Chapter I lists the Romanic (i.e., French) names in Romanic-speaking territory, II takes up the Romanic place-names in German territory, III considers the German names in Romanic territory, and IV studies the hybrid names in *-court*, *-villiers*, *-weiler*, etc.; a fifth chapter sums up the conclusions which may be drawn as to the settlement of the territory by the two speech-groups. The chapters consist of alphabetical lists (the alphabetizing is under the base-word, so that it is often a bit confusing) of the place-names, under each being given any older forms which may serve as explanations of its origin, an etymology, and a discussion of the problems presented by the name.

The French names are all comparatively clear in origin and form. In the case of the Germanized French names, the question of chronology is of some importance: the forms *Kalmisberg* and *Schalm* < *calmis* point to two separate settlements, one before the palatalization of *k* before *a*, the other after; the author assumes the palatalization as taking place in the seventh century, and places the vocalization of *l* before consonants in the ninth century, so that the second form cannot be later than the eighth century; these dates are, however, almost certainly too early, as the Oaths of Strasbourg, in 842, show *cadbuna cosa* with unpalatalized *k*, and the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, dating from the 11th century, has *mielz*, *volsisse*, etc. The chronology here needs revision.

The hybrid names in *-weiler* (< *villarius*) are shown to be quite possibly of pure Romanic origin, as many of the Romanized Frankish land-owners bore German given and family names.

The question raised as to the dating of certain sound-changes may affect the dating of Miss Risch's conclusions; in all such cases one should proceed from definitely known dates; otherwise a vicious circle results.

The book is clearly arranged and printed, but the addition of a strictly alphabetical index would eliminate all possibility of confusion, and would aid greatly in finding a particular name.

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COLUMBUS AND HIS GENOESE ORIGIN

Cristoforo Colombo: Documenti e prove della sua appartenenza a Genova. (Compiled, under the auspices of the City of Genoa, by a Committee of thirteen scholars, chiefly Prof. Giovanni Moricone and Marchese Giuseppe Pessagno, headed by Senator Eugenio Broccardi, Podestà of Genoa). Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche di Bergamo, Bergamo, 1931-32. 350 L. (Italy) and 400 L.

This large and beautiful in-folio volume is intended to settle, once for all, the recurrent controversy over the origin and nationality of Columbus. It was undertaken, at least in part it would seem, under the stimulus provided by Professor Ulloa's theory of the discoverer's Spanish associations; but more generally, of course, the unsparing and exhaustive labor which went into its preparation

directly envisaged the constant attempts made in the most diverse quarters, since the fourth Columbian centenary in 1892, to claim the Great Navigator's glory and, in a word, to "take him from Genoa." Thus when former Premier Grandi presented to President Hoover, during his visit to America, an advance copy of this great tome, his action was particularly significant: more than the reaffirmation of an international friendship based upon intimate historical bonds, the book did duty as a kind of determined manifesto, by the city once a powerful republic of the now common fatherland, to maintain, reassert, solidify upon indubitable grounds her practical and special rôle in the events that led to the rise of a New World and its nations. For not only is the volume issued under the auspices of the City of Genoa, in English-German and Spanish-French versions to supply the international market, as well as in the original Italian; but it has been prepared over long years and after the most painstaking researches by a committee of 13 scholars headed by her Podestà, Senator Broccardi. However, to the well-known Ligurian historian, Professor Monleone, and to the State Archivist of Genoa, Marchese Pessagno, must go the major portion of the credit for the achievement as it stands.

It is naturally of great moment to estimate how far they have succeeded in their purpose. Except in one department, their work leaves nothing to desire and may be judged conclusive. They have marshalled their sources in the usual categories, their principal objective being to present in definitive and unabridged form every scrap of evidence which concerns Columbus' birth in Genoa, his family, his relations with the city, his personal and business life. These materials are offered almost entirely in the shape of facsimiles; and consequently the volume includes hundreds of superb reproductions in natural size, documents being reproduced upon paper as nearly similar to the original as possible in quality and form, while many pages of ancient books are found upon other papers of appropriate texture. No expense or effort has been spared to raise the whole to a triumph of typographical beauty and elegance; this is a superb piece of bookmaking indeed. Due to that very accomplishment, however, the price has been set at a figure which will make it prohibitive except to libraries and moneyed collectors. With both of the latter the stately compilation of the Genoese scholars will find an honored and permanent place.

Never before have all the various proofs of Columbus' Genoese origin been so inclusively and yet compactly assembled. The authors begin with the literary sources, citing lengthily and verbatim from the writers contemporary with the Great Navigator, some of whom knew him personally. In this way they have found seven German, three Portuguese, seven Spanish, two Flemish, three French, and two Swiss authors, dating from the 15th to the middle of the 16th century, all of whom speak of "Christopher Columbus the Genoese." These sources go on to declare that he was sent on his voyage of discovery by Ferdinand of Spain, who was incited to this end by his wife, Queen Isabella of Castile and Leon. Columbus was held to have been a sea-captain at Ferdinand's court. Moreover, there are 48 Italian writers of both prose and poetry who testify to the same facts. Of these witnesses five were from Florence, three from Venice, four from Milan, two from Rome, one from Malta, and one from Messina, while fourteen were Ligurian, and eleven Genoese. In nearly all cases the excellent facsimiles offer us both the title page of the work cited and the page of quota-

tion adequately marked. There is likewise an Appendix of writers of later centuries, with documents in Latin and French.

Next, the known diplomatic documents are presented, including a letter from the Spanish ambassador at the English court, where Columbus' discovery was much talked about, to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1498; here is also mention of John Cabot's enterprise. A discourse of the Genoese ambassador to the court of Spain in 1501 is cited, as well as a letter from the Banco di San Giorgio of Genoa to Diego, Christopher Columbus' son, in 1502. And there is a curious and significant extract from a speech made in the Venetian Senate on Nov. 16, 1525, wherein Diego Colón was said to be residing in the *Spanish Island*, with the words: "This Admiral is the son of Columbus the Genoese and has very great estates which were granted to his father."

But these are all preliminary to the extraordinary and capital items that occupy Parts II and III, devoted to documents uncovered in Italian and Spanish archives. A whole genealogical series, proving beyond the shadow of a doubt Columbus' origin in Genoa and his family's roots in the city, is followed by others which identify this specific Columbus with the discoverer of America. A great many intimate and personal details thus become fully available, too varied and numerous to receive description in the course of a review. Occasional duplications occur in the documents, which naturally prove more than one thing in several instances. They are completed by a series of miscellaneous papers, including a letter from Michele Cuneo of Savona, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage; the signatures of witnesses for the reception of Diego, grandson of the Navigator, into the Order of Santiago in 1535; the patent of the King of Spain creating the Duchy of Veragua; and a most interesting and pithy letter to the Genoese Republic in which Bernaba Cigala pointed out that if Henry of England "had listened to Christopher Columbus the Genoese, half the world would not now be made up of Spaniards, but of Englishmen."

The reproductions in color number but three: Cristoforo Grassi's copy of the prospective of Genoa at the end of the 15th century and the Naval Museum of Pegli's characteristic picture of Savona in Columbus' time provide contemporary documentation on the physical appearance of the two cities with which the discoverer was most closely associated in his homeland. But the portrait of Columbus from the Galleria Gioviana of Como is not satisfactory as the sole inclusion of its kind. It would seem that the Great Navigator's likenesses, certified, presumed, or spurious, could well have been the subject of a special chapter, and that the more important of them at least should have been reproduced in a volume otherwise so prodigal of illustrations. The known or supposed portraits are certainly but another and essential phase of the intimate documentation upon Columbus which the authors established as the chief concern of their book. But at this point the scrupulous critical standards that hold good elsewhere in their work appear to have suffered a decline. The subject of Columbian iconography is delicate and difficult: one is forced to the observation that the compilers had done well either to let it entirely alone, or to develop it with detail and precision. In the former case their volume would have been incomplete; as it now stands, the introduction of a single portrait, without further comment, is genuinely uncritical. This very inadequate attempt to satisfy an obvious essential could prove, besides, deceptive to the unwarned; it

is the less excusable when the materials for an iconographic study are both abundant and fascinating. The editors might have offered us a definitive discussion not only of the Escorial portrait and of that of Versailles, which disappeared in 1870, but of the De Bry engraving, as well as the presumed portrait now in the collection of Mme la Baronne de Hutschler of Paris (St.-Germain-en-Laye) and Hamburg, to say nothing of Sebastiano del Piombo's posthumous work in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. But they have blundered sadly with their opportunity.

For the rest, they have done well. The third part of the book reproduces the famous *Libro dei Privilegi*, whose contents were gathered by Columbus himself and which, besides giving an exact account of his voyage of discovery, prove his rights as first discoverer of America. These extremely valuable items he declared to be copies of originals deposited in the Monastery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas in Seville. The cover shows his coat of arms, a city gate with three towers, a lion, a map of islands, and five anchors lying horizontally. The authenticity of the papers themselves is demonstrated by a comparison with the corresponding autographs now in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. The chain of evidence is completed by Columbus' two wills made in the latter city and in Valladolid, the second on May 19, 1506. Likewise there are the wills of his brother Giacomo made in Seville on Feb. 23, 1515; of his son Diego in San Domingo, Sept. 8, 1523, in which the son arranged to pay off the father's debts; and of his second son Fernando in Seville on July 3, 1539. It was the latter who wrote a biography of the elder Columbus. In general, the documents so lavishly and fittingly presented in this admirable volume have come mostly from the Archives of Seville and Genoa; but many other institutions have provided valuable papers, particularly the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

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A NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DRAMA IN ITALY

Frequently and at length have we discussed Mr. Silvio D'Amico's outlines¹ for a National Italian Theatre. Mr. D'Amico, it may be recalled, first sketched his idea of a National Institute of Drama in his essay, *Crisi del teatro*, published in *Pègaso* several seasons back. The essay, appearing as it did when the Italian stage was in an apathetic state, stirred theatrical circles to a point of feverishness and instilled a ray of hope. Mr. D'Amico, keen dramatic critic, analyzed the ills of the theatre and forecast in debonair fashion its temporary demise, unless help was forthcoming not merely to save the ship, but to retrieve the wreckage. Forthwith our genial critic called upon the Government to act. And now, though his aspirations have long remained in the realms of the abstract, it seems that the idea has emerged from the process of crystallization. It is about to become a reality.

The plans of this outline, in fact, were submitted to the Government early in 1931.² Almost two years have gone by; it looked as if the Institute was to remain regretfully a symbol. Happily, at this moment, Mr. D'Amico issues

¹ See *ROMANIC REVIEW*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 163-164, April-June, 1931.

² See letter to C. Pavolini, *Italia Letteraria*, N. 38, 18 settembre 1932.

definite information³ relative to "his child" since he entrusted it into the hands of the Syndicate of Drama:

"Si tratta di un figlio che non è più mio. Simile a quei padri sciagurati i quali, nelle grandi carestie dei paesi d'Oriente, vendono la prole a chi abbia i mezzi per crescerla, io ho non dirò venduto ma amorosamente ceduto quel figlio, che non potevo certo alimentare con le mie sole forze, alla Corporazione dello Spettacolo. La quale da oltre un anno e mezzo l'ha adottato, l'ha fatto suo, le ha dato il suo nome; e sta sotto la fervida guida di Gino Pierantoni, studiando i mezzi per assicurargli la vita. Una gran parte dei capitali da destinare a questo scopo si è, per geniali iniziative dello stesso Pierantoni, già trovata; e il resto non c'è dubbio che si troverà. Penso che invece il problema più serio, sebbene tutt'altro che insolubile, sia quello di trovare la casa adatta, ossia i teatri, da trasformare o da costruire *ex novo*."

Subsidy, in bulk at least, has been provided. What dispositions does the Syndicate manifest as to a practicable plan of function for a National Institute? Before any speculation is made regarding this point it would be well to take cognizance of various factors that continue to aggravate the situation in Italian production. Italian production, be it understood, serves here as a convenient term to indicate the staging of Italian plays, with Italian actors. This production, by reason of poverty, has languished and has been lacking in enterprise. It has been powerless to encourage dramatic talent among Italian writers. Inevitably the heyday promised, if not actually attained a decade and a half ago (by such names as Chiarelli, San Secondo, Cavacchioli, among others) remains now but a memory. Indeed we must call it a theatrical heyday when we consider the constituents that composed it; on one hand, the "Grotesque Theatre" as exemplified by Chiarelli's *Mask and the Face*, and, on the other, Pirandello with his paradox of self-identity couched in the philosophical vein. And now, apathy! The result has been obvious: production next to impossible, the playwright withdraws, interest lags, and, if there is experimentation, it favors foreign successes which offer better returns. Though the theatrical situation is acute, Italy is not alone in this plight. The World Crisis explains a lot. The fact that the theatre is in a bad way everywhere may be of some consolation to Italy's pride, but her situation remains acute none the less.

This brings us back to our previous question. Granting that the Institute is a certainty, what will be its program to enhance Italian production of Italian creations? How is it to revive interest in the stage and retrieve, if not increase, its audience? Is it to stress the classics, or contemporary drama? Conservative or experimental? Vis-à-vis of these problems Mr. D'Amico has drawn up a program, and he has dealt with the problems not as an extremist or an alarmist. Neither has he minimized the existing ills. It is our pleasure to quote him on these points:⁴

"Il repertorio di questi teatri dovrebbe essere, in massima parte, attuale. Per l'amor del Cielo non ricadiamo nel solito equivoco scolastico e accademico, che Teatro d'arte voglia dire Teatro retorico, e che per dare un tono dignitoso a un programma teatrale ci vogliano le commedie latine e i drammi pastorali. Alle cosiddette 'esumazioni' specie se operate attraverso una vivace sensibilità d'in-

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See D'Amico, *Crisi del teatro*, p. 96; also *L'Italia Letteraria*, N. 38, 18 settembre 1932.

terpreti moderni, non diciamo che si debba chiudere assolutamente la porta; si dovrà, in ogni caso, ridurla al minimo. Ma in tutti i tempi il Teatro, il grande Teatro, vuole spettacoli contemporanei, vuole la voce di poeti del tempo suo: i padroni dovranno, dunque, essere loro. Autori, in primo luogo, (perchè oggi nessun teatro, in nessun paese del mondo, potrebbe vivere del solo repertorio nazionale) stranieri, con una limitazione sola: che le opere straniere siano, veramente, degne d'esser conosciute."

Italy, then, is to have three theatrical centres nationally subsidized. The main centres will be located in Rome and Milan. A third centre will be established to serve as an experimental theatre for Italy's younger and lesser known writers. The centres are to exchange their stock companies periodically, and, periodically too, they will make tours of the country.

In conclusion, we may say that the program as set forth by Mr. D'Amico, by virtue of its comprehension, its variety and flexibility, seems worthy of adoption by the Syndicate. The Italian Government is to be congratulated in these harrowing times for its courage to sponsor a National Institute of Drama. May we now hope that the Institute opens its laboratories ere the New Year sets in?

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RUMANIAN BOOK NOTES

G. Călinescu, *Viața lui Mihai Eminescu*, București, Editura "Cultura Națională", 1932, 480 pp.

Mihail — or Mihai, as the biographer likes to call him, reminiscent of voivode Mihai the Brave, first ruler over the reunited Rumanian provinces within the frontiers of ancient Dacia, — Eminescu¹ has been considered for some time the quintessence of political conservatism. As if poetic qualities were not sufficient for his glory, Călinescu overemphasizes this political vein in the master's intellectual mine. To be exact Mihai, the poet, and Mihai, the voivode, have this in common that the word of the one has cemented a nation within the boundaries fastened by the blood and iron of the other. Yet this was the labor of the creator of a profound and colorful language, the artist of syllables and rhymes. Fundamentally, Eminescu stands at the opposite pole of his professed politics. It is true that we find tangible proof of his sincerity in supporting conservatism, yet some of his solidly constructed journalistic material was dictated by party doctrine and questions of the moment. His life, nevertheless, ascetic and simple to the extent of being primitive, proves his inclination towards the redemption of the poor and downtrodden. Accents of revolt against oppression and injustice we find in his poetry as well as in his prose.

With this reservation, Călinescu has succeeded in rendering a solid biography which stands out as the only complete and documented one. It is a scholarly work in spite of its appearance. It contains new and hitherto unpublished material; and light is shed on the lyrics which revolutionized Rumanian verse.

¹ According to Gheorghe Adamescu in his *Contribuțiune la bibliografia românească*, Fascicola III-a, București, 1928, Eminescu was born in 1850 and died in 1889. Călinescu does not solve the problem of the exact date of the poet's birth. He finds that there are two hypotheses: Jan. 15, 1850, as the official certificate states, or Dec. 20, 1849, after a family document. Eminescu's death certificate of June 17, 1889, gives his age as 43, which is erroneous.

"Thus," concludes Călinescu, "was extinguished in its eighth lustrum of life perhaps the greatest poet offered by Rumanian soil. Rivers will dry in their beds and upon the place of his interment may spring forth a forest or a city, and some star shall wither in the distant skies, before this land will again gather all its pith and raise it in the thin tube of another lily of the strength of its perfumes."

Călinescu appends a rich bibliography to his interesting work. Tudor Arghezi, *Flori de mucigai*, București, Editura "Cultura Națională", 1931, 119 pp.

There is no doubt that Tudor Arghezi is the foremost poet of contemporary Rumania. His first volume of verse, *Cuvinte potrivite* (Paired Words), placed him high in the realm of letters. This new bouquet of *Flowers of Mold* marks a step forward in the evolution of Arghezi. The book shows more unity of inspiration and richness in variety of tone. In the selection of material, it evidences the same source of inspiration as its prose counterpart *Poarta neagră* (The Black Gate), a chronicle of prison days. Yet the treatment proves the work of a more recent date. It also uncovers certain influences at play — like the title, suggested by Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal* or Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol*. There is no palpable proof of these echoes, to be sure. Arghezi is too personal, too original, to let himself be carried away by the melodies of foreign masters. It is more of an attitude, perhaps. Yet lines like

"Some atone for a crime; some, for a dream.
It matters not what you do:
Whether you kill the rich or awaken the poor,"

from Arghezi's *Cina* (The Supper), bring to one's mind Wilde's:

"Yet each man kills the thing he loves,
By each let this be heard,
Some do it with a bitter look,
Some with a flattering word,
The coward does it with a kiss,
The brave man with a sword!"

Notwithstanding this distant harping of strange chords, we find in *Flowers of Mold* a *manière* which is decidedly national: the motives are aboriginal, like the colors of a peasant's woven rug. There is the gipsy flower of some of the characters and the fairy tale atmosphere of drama. There is a wealth of vocabulary and idioms taken from life and artistically transposed. There is finally stark realism blended with the fantastic, undoubtedly *surréalisme*, but of a local brand.

We quote from *Cântec mut* (Silent Song):

"To my neighbor's bed
There came last night God,
With staff, angels and saints.
They were so warm
That the hospital became
Snug like under a shawl.
They played with bugles and strings
Some prayers,

And they offered blessings
 Among the doctors and near the bed."
 And the end of the agony:
 "I found him
 Stiff.
 He now lays in bed.
 Where is his soul? I do not know. It left him."
 The native is more clearly emphasized in *Rada*, portrait of a girl:
 "With a flower in her teeth
 Rada is an eglantine with burning thorns.
 She dances in the mud
 With the sun in her hair, like a bee."

I. Negreanu, *Amintiri*, 1857-1931, București, 1932, 121 pp.

I. Negreanu, former managing-editor of the Bucharest dailies *Adevărul* (*The Truth*) and *Dimineața* (*The Morning*), publishes, in a privately printed and limited edition, reminiscences of his long and eventful life.

"First of all," states the octogenarian author, "I beg the reader to believe that what follows constitutes the pure truth with no exaggeration of facts, but, on the contrary, perhaps attenuated; and some events lived through and witnessed by me and told to no one in my long life shall remain a secret to be taken with me into my tomb."

Negreanu proves to possess a splendid memory, and he tells in the chroniclers' style of old and forgotten men and happenings as well as of well-known historical events, glorified by contemporaries and even later generations.

The anecdotal aspect is delightful. We quote one colorful incident relating to Ion L. Caragiale (1852-1911), Rumania's Molière and Mark Twain in one:

"I had in my cellar red wine from Dr. Patrașcu-Tecuci's vineyards of Nicorești. It was, indeed, an extraordinarily good wine. I offered Gherea² a demijohn of it for a banquet served by him in honor of the late king Carol I at Slănicul-Prahova. Caragiale discovered its taste, and then he visited me often on Poșta street in Ploști. He would converse with me for hours and, in the meantime, would consume two or three bottles of that nectar, repeatedly telling me: 'Say, you do not know what a treasure you have in your house.'"

N. Deleanu, *Poezia muncii*, Vol. I., București, Editura I. M. S. E. R., 1931, 111 pp.

Published by the Workers' Institute of Education, this anthology of social poems, compiled by N. Deleanu, presents an interesting aspect of Rumania's labor movement. The first volume offers the verse of 32 authors and two introductory popular songs or *doine*: *Doină baiducească* (*Haiduk Doina*) and *Bate Doamne pe ciocoi* (*Strike, O Lord, the Parvenu*). The poets are presented in alphabetical order: Tudor Arghezi, G. Bacovia, Simona Basarab (V. Corbască), Nicolae Beldiceanu, Mihail Gh. Bujor, C. Z. Buzdugan, Paul Constant,

² Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1855-1920) literary critic, socialist leader and political essayist, author of *Critice*; *Neoiobăgia* (*The New Serfdom*); etc. To make both ends meet and to preserve his independence, this celebrated writer managed a restaurant in the railroad station of Ploști. His food was so appreciated that he became the best *restaurantier* in Rumania and catered even at royal tables, in spite of his revolutionary career that originated in czarist Russia.

Savin Constant, George Coșbuc, Aron Cotruș, Mihail Cruceanu, N. Davidescu, V. Demetrius, Mihail Eminescu, Elena Farago, Leon Feraru, P. Ioanid (Ion Pas), St. O. Iosif, D. Karnabat, Barbu Lăzăreanu, Haralamb Lecca, George Lesnea, D. Th. Neculuță, B. Nemțeanu, Păun-Pincio, St. Păunescu, Camil Petrescu, Eugen Relgis, I. Șarvari, Spartacus (Barbu Eftimiu), Steuerman-Rodion and Vanda Mihail.

Poems like Eminescu's *Împărat și Proletar* (*Emperor and Proletarian*) as well as Coșbuc's *Noi vrem pământ* (*We Want Land*), give an idea of the tone of the selections. We are profoundly touched by Bujor's greeting *Sărbătoarea muncii* (*Labor's Holiday*):

"When the last hour shall strike with a sound sad and prolonged

Of the brazen bell, I will be what I was and I am:

Humble flag-bearer of a great credo, new and proud.

I will then close my eyelids, fallen but unconquered."

Bujor has been for the last twelve years in the Doftana prison because of his political views. We hereby plead in the name of humanity for his immediate release.

Realizing the truly selective process of Deleanu's anthology, one comes to the conclusion that he has rendered a valuable service to the cause of poetry as well as of labor.

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ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Popular Spanish Readings. El Libro Talonario, Golpe Doble, Zaragüeta, El Capitán Veneno, La Hermana San Sulpicio. Edited with Notes and Vocabulary by N. B. Adams with the collaboration of A. B. Adams, N. Y., F. S. Crofts & Co., 1932, VII + 286 pp.

This useful volume of favorite readings is an answer to the present-day demand for economy. Within 175 clear and readable pages it has concentrated five of the most successful class texts of second year Spanish, so that a student may buy one book instead of several. The works range from the short story: — that of Alarcón's crafty peasant "el tío Buscabeatas," and Blasco Ibáñez's dark tale of the Valencian soil, — to more extensive novels: the light-hearted winning of that confirmed misogynist, "El Capitán Veneno", and *La Hermana San Sulpicio*. To diversify these *novelas*, there is included the rollicking comedy, *Zaragüeta*, which has never failed to convert tedious class work into genuine enjoyment.

The variety and interest thus afforded from the gleanings of such outstanding works will prove a stimulus to the student, who should encounter no difficulty with such simple though masterly Spanish. On the other hand, the convenience of the volume will recommend it highly: under one cover, within a normal-sized book, he will find a good edition of all these works. The novels, however, are somewhat abridged and omit the parts of lesser interest, although they preserve the main plot intact.

Mexican Short Stories. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by A. Torres-Rioseco and E. R. Sims, Illustrations by A. Sotomayor, N. Y., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932, XX + 180 pp.

Professor Torres-Rioseco, who has already prepared a stimulating anthology of Chilean short stories for the American student, here, in collaboration with Professor Sims, continues his efforts to link the two sister continents more closely by a literary understanding. In the present collection of outstanding short stories of Mexico, the editors have been bolder in their choice, — venturing into the modernist camp to select virile tales that furnish a cross-section of the later movements in world literature. They have, though rather discreetly, broken away from the traditional selection of mere "good stories" with a clever turn, that so often shelter the classroom from the harsh realities of life and create an artificial barrier between the school and the world which the student seeks to reconcile, but frequently to his lasting bewilderment. Here, with a freer outlook, the editors have chosen stories more psychologically real and more fearless in expression, borrowing from among the best of the Mexican contribution to modernist letters.

The anthology opens with the lyrical tale of unbefriended sparrows shivering in a bleak winter storm, — in a prose poem of mood strongly reminiscent of the *Teatro de Ensueño* of Martínez Sierra. It then passes on to the weird supernatural love of "El señor Octavio". It takes up the tense emotional analysis expressed through close observation of the surrounding atmosphere in "Yes." One of the most powerful of the tales is Amado Nervo's *Una Esperanza*, which depicts the struggle of a plaintive and heroic rebel defeated by mocking Destiny. The fantastic *La Cena* of Alfonso Reyes, worked out in a dream-mood, is super-realistic in impact. Of especial interest to the American is Gutiérrez Nájera's *Rip-Rip*, a personal and intellectualized interpretation of Rip Van Winkle's adventures, — of a twentieth-century, disillusioned Rip, who awakens from a bitter dream, to see reality in all its baseness. There follow a strong-etched character-study in *El Rector y el Colegial*, a subtly-ironical mockery in Rafael Delgado's *Rigel*, and a Valle-Inclanesque dismal vengeance of the saintly-satanic, fanatical doña Soledad. The volume ends with the lucid recital of the disembodied and clay-ridden "soul" of "El Fusilado," — that poignant story without a story of José Vasconcelos.

All of these tales have a strong appeal in themselves, while at the same time they offer striking examples of the literary achievements of the leading Mexican prose writers. More welcome still, they may introduce the student to modern trends in literature, and lead him to an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of the innovators in modern letters.

M. W. Nichols and G. Rivera, *Cuentos y Leyendas de España*, N. Y., Doubleday Doran & Co., Inc., VI + 206 pp.

Teachers of Spanish will be grateful for this easy presentation of the principal Spanish legends, — so indispensable for an understanding of a great part of the national literature which found inspiration in the superhuman bravery and virtue of the heroes they deify. Very simply told, and in a lively style, these episodes recount the resounding exploits of the warrior Cid in exile, and then turn to the more tender and courtly love struggle of the chivalric Rodrigo of Guillén de Castro's *Mocedades*. Another episode reenacts the treachery of Rodrigo, *el Último Godo*, — but presents the legend in its primitive form, without the gruesome penitence which the last of the Goths imposed on himself when

he donned the hermit's cowl and descended into a snake pit in order to redeem his sinful soul. Similarly, the blood-thirsty vengeance of Mudarra for the murder of the Siete Infantes of Larra is relegated to a footnote, while the legend is told in its simpler form, and focuses its interest on the heroic valor of the Seven Lords, on the malice of their uncle, and on the pathos of a bereaved father who rehearses their noble acts over their gory heads. The episode of Guzmán el Bueno, — the stoic patriot who, like a true Roman, sacrifices his own blood — that of his son — rather than betray his country, is so recounted as to dramatize the struggle within a father's heart, and his outward unconcern in the stern execution of his duty. Bernardo del Carpio also passes in a heroic pageant of medieval glory to confront a weak and shifty ruler with his indomitable valor and his defense of the oppressed. The strong colors of these evocations of the heroic days of yore are somewhat softened by the recital of the tender love of Abindarráez for the fair Jarifa, while a humorous note is added by the tale of *El Caballero y el Zapatero*.

The narratives are based on good authority, — in most cases on the accounts furnished by the *Crónica General* of Alfonso el Sabio; the exile of the Cid is based on the epic *Poema de Mio Cid* in the modernized version of A. Reyes; the troubled love of the Cid for Jimena retells Guillén de Castro's masterpiece in prose, while the Moorish Abencerraje tale is based on Villegas' classic rendering of this perennially popular novelette. All these episodes are told in a simple, direct Spanish, often with dialogues to vivify the narrative. Yet the simplification in style, combined with a slightly archaic flavor which has been retained, lend the illusion of historic remoteness, and suggest an air of the original teller. One rather regrets the intrusion of the two preliminary chapters which have but slight connection with the remainder of the volume, and are markedly more difficult than the actual legends themselves, — the enthusiastic "Loor de España" in which Alfonso el Sabio likens Spain to "God's paradise," and the quaint and discursive prologue of Juan Manuel to his *Conde Lucanor* which, because of its involved sentence structure, would rather repel the beginner than attract him to the more picturesque matter following. The instructor may, however, omit these divisions, since the pedagogical devices designed to review the high points of Spanish grammar with thorough drill should make this volume a welcome one for elementary classes.

Easy Modern Spanish Lyrics. Selected and Edited by M. A. Devitis and D. Torreyson, N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1930, XIII + 78 pp.

The smooth-flowing Spanish tongue lends itself so naturally to poetic expression, that its literature excels in lyric verse. Its poets have, through this medium, interpreted the constantly vibrating and exalted tempo of the Spanish "mind," — as revealing of its high-strung temperament as the satirical and realistic prose observations of which it has furnished so many world-renowned examples. Yet our continual stress on prose works may leave in many students a deplorably one-sided view of Spanish literature; he would necessarily think it down-to-earth, satirical and realistic. Yet that neglected *genre* could offer him the mystic ecstasy of Luis de León, the complicated artfulness of Góngora and the arabesques à la Heine in which Campoamor excelled.

It is, therefore, in order to strike a happier balance, that this little anthology of recent poetic achievements, — poems known to every Spaniard, — has been

compiled. It includes selections from the better-known lyricists from the Romantic epoch on, — for example Hartzenbusch's rhymed proverb, *El Peral*; Espronceda's classic *Canción del Pirata*, that spirited challenge of the brave man and the free; Campoamor's *Vanidad de la Hermosura*, the poetic reiteration of regret of fleeting beauty, as well as his versed confession of the illiterate lovelorn maid of *¡Quien supiera escribir!*; Bécquer's *Rimas*, some gently sweet, some bitingly epigrammatic, besides verses from the moderns: Valle Inclán, the Machado brothers, Villaespesa, García Morales, to end with Juan Ramón Jiménez, whose poems are so rich in suggestive imagery, as in the verses from *Arias Tristes* included:

Las noches de luna tienen
una lumbre de azucena. . . .

The poems were chosen because of their intrinsic merit, and in most of them we recognize old favorites. Yet we also meet rarer ones, as for example an early specimen of the poetry glorifying the machine — *La Locomotora* of Ventura Ruiz Aguilera, which because of its date is an interesting precursor of a certain phase of modernism. We hope that some day the interpretation of the Machine and of Modern Industry in Spanish and European poetry will be elucidated in a special study which would bare one of the roots of the poetry of today. The Romantic tradition is further represented by some lesser known poets: Juan Arolas' yearning *Sé mas feliz que yo*, or the musically exotic *La Yegua del Árabe*, which evokes the arid plains and sun-scorched tents of the wandering Arab and his steed, — companions in joy and suffering.

This selection from the best among the easily understandable and musical modern poems, preceded by a brief *exposé* of the essentials of Spanish versification, is a worth-while addition to class texts, and should win the approval of the teachers who try to cultivate the artistic interests of their students, — now only too often dormant for lack of stimulation.

William L. Schwartz, *French Romantic Poetry. An Anthology*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1932, XXXI + 443 pp.

The principal merit of this anthology of French Romantic poetry is that it does not merely reprint the best-known poems of Hugo, Vigny, Lamartine, and the other high priests of the Romantic renewal, but that it brings selections from the so-called minor poets of Romanticism, who are not always artistically the least interesting. We find here, for instance, extracts from Aloysius Bertrand's *Gaspard de la Nuit*, which in the last decades has been glorified in a decided revival; from Mme Desbordes-Valmore whose cult, since Robert de Montesquiou-Fézensac's and Verlaine's eulogies, has been constantly more ritually celebrated; or from Charles Nodier, whose rôle as a precursor of the 1830-Romanticism, and whose intriguing and complex mind, have been increasingly a welcome subject for investigation by numerous scholars. And then, there lurk through these pages the sad faces of some of the "*enfants perdus du Romantisme*," — from the early "poète mourant," Millevoie, to Pétus Borel, "le Lycanthrope," whose works still belong among the preferences of the "happy few;" or his friend, Philothée O'Neddy to whom Art was an apostolate, though his life was a failure; or Hégésippe Moreau whom Corbière called "Créateur de l'Art-Hôpital;" — in a word, of all those Romantics who were "beloved of the

Gods and died young;" of those brothers in suffering of Malfilâtre, Gilbert and Chatterton, of whom Gérard de Nerval, that most tortured of the Fatal *Bobêmes*, is the symbol and incarnation. This selection is, then, to be commended for having left, at least in part, the beaten path, and for having given due space to those poets who are perhaps more typically "Romantic" than Victor Hugo, the "garde national épique," or Gautier, the more cool-minded chiseler of cameos.

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PAGET TOYNBEE: SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

He who has been justly called "the last of the great English Dantists" passed away on the 13th of May. Paget Toynbee was born in 1855, son of the distinguished aural surgeon, Joseph Toynbee, and younger brother of Arnold Toynbee, the social reformer. Paget took his bachelor's degree at Balliol College, Oxford, where his brother was a tutor and where Jowett then presided. Upon leaving Oxford Paget Toynbee accepted a private tutorship, in the course of which he had opportunity for travel and doubtless leisure for much study. In 1892 he gave up teaching, and two years later married Miss Helen Wrigley. The marriage was an unusually happy one; and Mrs. Paget Toynbee made a distinct name for herself by her edition of the *Letters of Horace Walpole*.

Of the many fruits of Toynbee's productive scholarship, I will mention only a few. His first important publication was the *Specimens of Old French (Ninth to Fifteenth Century)*, 1892. Two years later began his long collaboration with his friend Dr. Edward Moore upon the *Oxford Dante*, and in 1898 the Clarendon Press issued his *Dictionary of the Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*.—The *Concise Dante Dictionary*, issued 17 years later, although an almost perfect work in its kind, is no substitute for the original large dictionary, which contained "full-length quotations from chroniclers and commentators and from authors cited or utilized by Dante." This feature of the book sets the Poet against the background of his age and gives the student a thrilling sense of being a contemporary. Having had occasion to consult it for more than three decades, perhaps I may venture to say that I have found it not only constantly instructive but delightful as well. The *Dante Vocabulary*, which the Clarendon Press announced in 1898 as in preparation by him, has never appeared and is still a desideratum. What an opportunity for some young scholar to distinguish himself by undertaking such a needed work upon the basis of the materials which Toynbee doubtless accumulated!

A year or two after the great dictionary came the *Life of Dante* which, according to the excellent notice in the *London Times* (May 16), went through four editions and was translated into Italian. To about the same period belongs his edition of Cary's translation, published in three volumes with Introduction and Notes. His interest in English translations from Dante was lively and abiding, as is shown by his "Chronological List" published in his *Dante Studies* (1921). It is of some interest to myself that this list stops just short of the inclusion of my own translation of the *Divine Comedy* which, as soon as he

saw it in the Summer of 1922, he seems to have greatly liked. From the encouraging letter he then wrote me I will quote here but one sentence:

"I have not yet read the whole of your translation, but have read all my favourite passages, and in no case have I been disappointed."

The two portly volumes entitled *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary* form an exhaustive repertory of quotations from Dante, allusions to him, comments upon his writings and translations from them throughout that long period. It will, I think, be agreed that most of the really memorable contributions in our language to Dante criticism have been made since the date chosen for the conclusion of this work (1844), — some of the most notable being by Toynbee himself.

The works so far mentioned may perhaps, with the exception of the great dictionary, be regarded as by-products. His high place among English Dantists is principally based upon his two volumes of *Dante Studies*, his *Dantis Alagberii Epistolae*, and upon the fourth edition of the *Oxford Dante*, — the crowning work of his busy life. This appeared in 1924, exactly twenty years after Dr. Moore's third edition, — years marked by multifarious discoveries and conclusions touching text and authenticity of writings attributed to the Poet. It was a period in which a most brilliant group of Italian scholars were centering their minds upon the great task of maturing the fruits of their "long study and great love" of the Poet, with a view to the production of a critical sexcentenary edition. That Toynbee kept abreast of their march is evidenced by his text, which is likely to be for a long time accepted as the best attainable. This is the opinion of one who prefers, in a certain number of passages, alternative readings which Toynbee rejects. As throwing light upon his character, I cannot forbear to add that, in collaborating with me upon the publication of my translation side by side with the original in the *World's Classics* of the Oxford University Press, he insisted upon altering his text to fit my rendering in the cases, happily not numerous, in which I had preferred the reading of some other editor.

This remark brings me to the purpose I have most at heart, which is to give some personal impressions of Paget Toynbee as a man. I am permitted to cite from a letter from Lord Kilbracken, better known as Sir Arthur Godley, to Mr. William Toynbee, written immediately upon hearing of the death of the latter's brother:

"We corresponded irregularly, and at first chiefly about Dante; but afterwards on many other subjects, and yet I do not feel that it was our correspondence that kept alive our friendship, but our friendship that kept alive our correspondence. I had a very great admiration for him as a scholar, commentator, and editor. In this last capacity I do not think that I ever met his equal. I look upon him as the perfect editor in the arrangement of the work edited, in his comments, and in knowing what need be said and what need not be said. He had also the most beautifully clear style, in which his introductions, prefaces, and explanations were written. This applies equally to his great work, the two *Dante Dictionaries*, both of which I look upon as masterpieces."

Pathetic interest is given to this letter by the circumstance that it was written from a sick-bed from which the writer probably never arose, for he himself died a few weeks later. Mr. William Toynbee informs me that this friend, after a very distinguished career at Oxford, held for many years the

authoritative post of permanent Under Secretary for India. Thus he is another of the long line of administrators who do so much honor to Great Britain by the union of governing ability with scholarship and literary taste.

In the interesting *Norton-Vernon Correspondence* printed by the Cambridge Dante Society in 1930, Vernon gives Norton some charming glimpses of Paget Toynbee. Writing in June, 1907, Vernon, in describing a meeting with the Toynbees at their home, writes:

"I mentioned to him my great affection for you -- and yet how seldom we have been thrown together. He said: 'Professor Norton is a man whom I am proud to call my friend, and yet we have never seen each other.' He has a charming wife of about 30, very clever. She has edited a monumental work (*Letters of Horace Walpole*, 16 vols., 8vo) and has not done yet. They live as a very united couple in a very nice house which they have built just on the outskirts of the glorious Burnham Beeches, and live, as students, quite remote from the world."

In January, 1908, Vernon writes again:

"It is only a week ago that I was talking to Paget Toynbee of the charm of the friendships that are kept up chiefly by letters -- some indeed between friends who have never met, and of these latter he has more than one."

More than a score of years later, Dr. Toynbee did me the honor to write, in reply to some expression on my part of grateful affection:

"I think I may claim you as a friend, as I did Norton, although we have never met."

Indeed my correspondence with him, which continued with some regularity from 1922 until the end, leads me to conclude that he had something of the instinct for friendship that distinguished Norton. From one of my colleagues who enjoyed the chance of meeting him that was denied me, I have lately received a description of him and his home from which I am permitted to quote. I need hardly say that it was written with the freedom of a private letter without any view to publication. After telling how a London friend took him out for a week-end to his home near Burnham Beeches, not far from Stoke Poges, my correspondent continues:

"After dinner we fell to looking at prints and books; from something or other, Italian in source, the name of Dante was evoked, and I mentioned you and your translation, whereupon R—— D—— and his sister exchanged intuitions and suggested that we take a walk and call upon a neighbor who was interested in Dante. We crossed a mile or so of lovely fields to an old red-brick farmhouse, set in an unselfconscious garden. A ring at the front door bringing no response, R—— guessed that Mr. Toynbee was having a nap, so we filed around the side to the kitchen door. Peeping in at the window we saw him indeed nodding in his chair. A knock brought him to the door, and one glance at my two companions woke all the fatherly tenderness in him, for he had known them since babyhood, — had trotted Phyllis on his knee. He explained that the servants were off for the afternoon, and that he had moved his work to the kitchen in order to keep an eye on the kettle of soup that was simmering over the fire. He was working to finish the edition of Walpole's *Letters* that his wife had left incomplete at her death. All over kitchen table, chairs, stools, and on the floor, lay a grand spread of Horace Walpole, — manuscripts, histories,

etc. Once awake he was gay, droll, altogether charming in informality, as easy of approach as — well, as lovely and modest men are likely always to be. . . . He was of medium height and build, a rosy English face, blue eyes, white hair and moustache . . . Modest of course, not an atom of the pundit; droll and tenderly playful in his talk. We had an hour or so in his library; I wish I could remember more clearly the detail of some things he showed me, but alas I recall only a general impression of Dante literature, a medal of honor from Italy, a few tokens of 'honors' from the universities; and many questions about you. . . . There was tea, I believe, and most of the talk was just good neighborly talk between him and the two fine young people, my hosts."

So much my friend (Professor E. O. James of Mills College) is able now to recall, after nearly a decade, of a meeting face to face with such a man. I rather think the reference to the absence of the servants was a mere bit of jocular make-believe between Mr. Toynbee and his sympathetic neighbors; or else my sharp-eyed friend may have forgotten the sober little farce. For about six months after the afternoon in question, Toynbee stated the fact of the case in a letter to me:

"I am very busy, and have, besides my proper work, to 'do' for myself and live in my kitchen (where Prof. James found me) owing to the impossibility of getting servants."

To this handicap, as well as to increasing infirmities, — possibly brought on by this mode of life, — he repeatedly refers in subsequent letters. Perhaps a further sentence or two from the same letter may interest a few of your readers.

"It is refreshing to hear that you still live with Dante & are constantly retouching your translation and adding to the notes. You are fortunate in having such a subject & in being able to keep up your interest in it. I gathered from Prof. James that you were rather disappointed at the slow sale of your translation. But my experience has been not dissimilar. It took 25 years to exhaust an edition of 1,000 copies of my Dante Dict., and £ 100 is all I have ever had out of it. The fate of most Dante books is much the same — there seem to be a good many more readers than buyers. The Oxford Dante (on a fourth edition of which I have been engaged for the last two years) is the only one I know of that has a steady sale."

In 1915 Paget Toynbee had published with the Oxford Press an edition in two volumes (836 pages) of the letters of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton. After the completion of his critical text of the works of Dante, he returned to this fascinating field where he had formerly wandered with his wife. It is my conjecture that a good deal of interesting new material must have been made accessible to him; at all events this was the work he had most at heart in the last years.

Unfortunately, in the Autumn of 1930 his physical condition became such that he was obliged to go for nine months to a nursing home, where he was precluded from going on with his work upon Gray's Letters. Before that time, however, he had recommended my translation of the *Divine Comedy* to Mr. Humphrey Milford for his series of *World's Classics* and had promised to supervise (in the author's necessary absence) the production of the volumes. The reading of the proofs of this publication, in the careful way to which I

have referred, was the chief occupation of the long enforced leisure, — an occupation which, as he assured me, was a welcome solace.

Under date of 17 August, 1931, he wrote me again from his home, Five-ways, Bucks:

"I have at last been allowed to return after an absence of nine months. I fortunately finished correcting the last proofs of World's Classics Dante just before I left the Yews. Now it is quite impossible to think of Dante again for some time to come. The place was left in great confusion and it will take many weeks to get it into proper going order again, especially as personally I can do little beyond superintend, for I am still, and shall be for long, very shaky."

To him these conditions must have been exceptionally trying inasmuch as one of his chief relaxations from study was found in gardening. The other avocation, in which he is said to have been very skilful, was that of the carpenter, — by which I suspect is meant not that of the *charpentier* but the *menuisier* or even the *ébéniste*.

During the months of last Winter and Spring one of Mr. Milford's staff had been preparing, under Dr. Toynbee's direction, an Index to our projected popular edition of the *Divine Comedy*. On the 11th of May, having finished the task, laborious even for one in health, of correcting the proofs of this Index, he penned a letter of general criticism of the work of the compiler. The cold hand of death must even then have been upon him, for the proof and letter were not sent as he promised. I dare say this was the first time this conscientious man had ever failed to fulfil an engagement. On Friday the 13th of May he breathed his last. The letter and the corrected proof were found among his papers two weeks later. It gives me a pang to think that this noble scholar felt obliged, when already in a dying condition, to do for me what, but for a certain misunderstanding of the conditions, I could and would gladly have done for myself. It might so easily have been otherwise! My only consolation is in the thought that, after all, he might have preferred that his last labor should relate to his life-long purpose of bringing home to the English reader the significance of the loftiest of poets.

MELVILLE B. ANDERSON

LA JOLLA, CALIF.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SWITZERLAND

La Bibliothèque Nationale Suisse issued recently, through its Director, Marcel Godet, a *Rapport de l'année 1931*. During the months of September and October, 1931, the Library's 600,000 volumes were transferred to the splendid new edifice in Hallwylstrasse, Berne. Among the valuable gifts received was the remarkable collection of Bibles belonging to K. J. Lüthi. "Aux éditions des Saintes Ecritures", says the report, "sont joints un certain nombre de publications utiles à leur étude (lexiques, grammaires, études historiques, commentaires) et des documents iconographiques. L'ensemble compte plus de 2,000 volumes, 300 brochures, et environ 2,500 gravures et feuilles volantes. Comme plus de 160 langues s'y trouvent représentées, cette collection offre de l'intérêt pour les linguistes, aussi bien que pour les théologiens et les bibliographes". Also the Musée Gutenberg Suisse has deposited in the Library its valuable collection of bibliographical works, consisting of 2,000 volumes and

500 pamphlets, so that now the Library has at its disposal 24,488 bibliographical works as against 15,554 in 1930. The Library issued during the year a *Bulletin bibliographique*; a *Répertoire méthodique* for the period 1921-30; a *Bibliographie scientifique* for 1929 and has ready for publication an issue covering 1930-31; and *La Bible en Suisse et dans le monde*. Furthermore it prepared "une révision complète de la collection d'ouvrages en dialecte suisse allemand prêtée au Bureau du 'Schweizerisches Idiotikon', à Zurich, et qui compte 908 numéros (plus de 1,600 volumes et brochures)". Finally, the Library has now in its catalogue 409,005 fiches of titles found in 123 of the libraries of Switzerland. However, the report adds: "Il serait pourtant urgent de faire avancer cette entreprise d'une si grande portée pour la vie intellectuelle de notre pays et qui n'en est qu'à ses débuts."

J. L. G.

VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—PROF. MELVILLE B. ANDERSON'S splendid verse translation of Dante, which was reviewed in the *ROMANIC REVIEW* (XXI, April-June, 1930, pp. 148-152), is soon to appear in two new editions as follows: One in the "World's Classics" of the Oxford Univ. Press, with many new and revised notes and some 300 rewritten lines. This edition will appear in two forms: a) in 3 vols. with the original text page for page *en face*, edited by the late Paget Toynbee; b) in one volume without the Italian text. The other new edition will be issued by the Limited Editions Club (551 Fifth Ave., N. Y.) which is having printed in Verona a *de luxe* edition of 1,500 copies. This edition, which will contain nearly 100 rewritten lines, will probably form the *textus receptus* of Prof. Anderson's translation. This will make five different editions of this translation available to scholars, since the following have been issued heretofore: 1) the original edition by the World Book Co. in 1921; 2) an English edition from the same sheets, but with seven rewritten passages, 56 lines in all, issued by Harrap, London; 3) the Nash *de luxe* edition, with the text rewritten to the extent of 1,200 lines and a much extended body of notes, which was reviewed in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*. THE *ROMANIC REVIEW*, therefore, takes pleasure in extending to the distinguished scholar and poet well-deserved congratulations on the unusually warm welcome extended by the public to his *opus magnum*, a real labor of love.—PROF. LEWIS F. MOTT, head of the Department of English at City College, New York, was decorated on Sept. 21 with the Order of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in recognition of his contributions to scholarship in the Romance languages. The editors of THE *ROMANIC REVIEW*, to which Prof. Mott has been a subscriber since its establishment in 1910, take great pleasure in congratulating him on this well-merited honor. Other Americans upon whom France has recently conferred this same rank are President Robt. M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, and Prof. Claudine Gray, head of the Department of Romance Languages, Hunter College, New York.—PROFESSOR R. E. HUME of Union Theological Seminary, New York, was awarded on July 9 an honorary doctor's degree by the University of Strasburg in recognition of his translation of Sanskrit philosophical works.—PROF. H. G. BAYER contributed to the Oct. issue of the *Légion d'Honneur* (New York, pp. 115-120) an article entitled "French Place-Names in Amer-

ica". Readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW may remember a similar contribution of his to our July-Sept., 1930, issue, entitled "French Names in Our Geography" (XXI, pp. 195-203).—DOROTHY W. DAVIS, of Radcliffe College, is preparing a doctoral dissertation on Jean Lahor (Henri Cazalis, 1840-1909) and will deeply appreciate any unpublished information regarding him that may be sent to her.—A SURVEY OF ENROLMENTS in 14 colleges and universities in New York made recently by J. L. Beha, of the city high schools, reveals that the number of students of French and German far exceed those of Italian, Spanish, Greek or Latin. Enrolments in French for the semester ending last June totaled 14,742, an increase of 234 over 1931, and in German 10,257, an increase of 255. While enrolments in Spanish also increased slightly in 1932, those in Italian fell off 125 and in Latin 422. In the seven-year period from 1925, the study of Greek has steadily declined. "The report", says the *New York Times* of Sept. 20, "is for the guidance of school authorities in preparing students for college courses."—THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES announces Grants in Aid of Research and Research Fellowships in the Humanities, administered by its Committee on Fellowships and Grants, to be awarded in 1933. Application blanks, which must be returned on or before Dec. 15, 1932, may be obtained from the Secretary, 907 15th St., Washington, D. C.—THE ROUMANIAN BULLETIN, issued by Basil Alexander (114 East 10th St., New York), contains in its July-August issue an account of "Roumanian Museums".—THE ÉGLISE DU SAINT ESPRIT, of New York, inaugurated recently a "Bibliothèque du Foyer". "Elle est ouverte", says *Le Messager* of July, "à tous les membres et amis de l'église française et du club franco-suisse".—JACQUES LE CLERCQ, formerly of Columbia University and now Executive Director of the Students' International Union at Geneva, announced, in the *New York Times* of Aug. 14, the creation of a World Library of International Affairs at Geneva. This Library has as its nucleus the 3,000 volumes recently donated to it by Count Johann von Bernstorff, who was Germany's Ambassador at Washington from 1908 until 1917. The Union, which maintains an annual Summer Session at Geneva, is now organizing "a Junior year in Geneva" for American college students.—THE LIBRARY AT PAVLOVSK, Russia, where Catherine II lived with her mad son, Paul II, contains "a French library the like of which exists nowhere in France or in the whole world", according to Percy H. Muir, in *The Colophon* of Sept. 21. Mr. Muir, who is a representative of a London bookseller, also relates of unsuccessful efforts made by him to purchase the "magnificent collection of illuminated manuscripts and a library formed by Voltaire" from the National Library in Leningrad.—THE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF ARGENTINA reports, according to the *New York Times* of Aug. 14, that "Buenos Aires is far behind smaller cities of both Europe and the United States in the matter of library facilities". In the public and semi-public libraries of that city there are only 1,400,000 books to take care of the intellectual requirements of a population of 2,200,000.—THE NEW UNIVERSITY OF BRUSSELS, now being erected at Solbosch with American Belgian Relief funds, opened on Oct. 15 a students' home containing accommodations for 100 men and 50 women. Situated in a park of five acres, the home includes a library, restaurant and facilities for games. "The student pays \$8 a month for accommodation", says the *New York Times* of Aug. 21, "including bathing facilities". The opportunities

offered by this University as well as by the University Library of Louvain, also built with funds donated by Americans, are attracting many foreign students to Belgium, where they find the cost of living more reasonable than elsewhere.—THE LAST ARTICLE of the Catalan autonomy statute was voted by the Spanish Cortes on Sept. 8. Under the statute Catalan is the official language of the provinces of Barcelona, Lerida, Tarragona and Gerona, though translation into Spanish may always be demanded for whatever purpose. Catalonia is also empowered to create her own school system, to be supported out of her own income. Finally, the University of Barcelona will be governed by a board, created by the Generalidad, which will provide for courses in Catalan and Spanish.—FRENCH GRAMMAR is now the order of the day, especially since the publication of Ferdinand Brunot's *Observations sur la Grammaire de l'Académie Française* (Paris, E. Droz, 25 rue de Tournon). In the 127 pages of his pamphlet the distinguished grammarian of the Sorbonne makes a devastating criticism of the Academy's recent publication. Consequently, H. Callender contributed to the *New York Times* of Aug. 28 an article entitled "The Grammatical War that is Rocking France."—FRENCH SCHOLARS are planning a new encyclopaedia to take the place of *La Grande Encyclopédie*, now sadly out of date. It is hoped that the work will be issued under the auspices of the Bibliothèque Nationale and that all the leading intellectuals of France will coöperate in its preparation. Funds are to be provided by private subscriptions.

NECROLOGY—DR. WILFRED PIRT MUSTARD, Professor of Latin at Johns Hopkins University and America's outstanding authority on Renaissance Latin, died at Toronto, Canada, on July 30 in the 69th year of his age. He was born at Uxbridge, Ont., on Feb. 18, 1864, and received his A.B. degree in 1886 and his A.M. degree in 1890 from the University of Toronto. In 1921 he became the first recipient of the same university's new honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. Professor Mustard was Fellow at Johns Hopkins in 1890-91, being awarded the Ph.D. degree during that year. After having served as Professor of Latin in Colorado College from 1891 to 1893, and Instructor in Latin, 1893-94, and Professor of Latin, 1894-1907, at Haverford College, he became Collegiate Professor of Latin, 1907-19, and finally Professor of Latin at Johns Hopkins. Among the many honors conferred upon him was that of Corresponding Fellow of the Royal Virgilian Academy of Mantua (1922). He was also Associate Editor of the *American Journal of Philology*. Among his publications were *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, 1911; *The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro*, 1914; *The Eclogues of Faustus Andrelinus and Ioannes Arnolletus*, 1918; *The Eclogues of Antonio Geraldini*, 1924. Dr. Mustard married in 1921 Miss Charlotte Rogers Smith of Baltimore who survives him.—DR. CHARLES MILLS GAYLEY, noted Professor of English in the University of California, died at Berkeley, Cal., on July 26 in his 75th year. Among the many honors awarded to him were those of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor (1921); member of the Executive Council of the International Congress for Republication of Manuscripts, Liège; and Trustee of the American Field Service Fellowships in France.—MISS CLARA BYRNES, Associate Professor of English at Hunter College, N. Y., died in New York on July 24 at the age of 58. During the 30 years of her association with Hunter College, Miss Byrnes had engaged in many extra-curricular activities,

among which was the creation of Il Circolo Italiano.—THE REV. FÉLIX LANTOIN, who for several years served as Professor of French at St. Peter's College, Staten Island, N. Y., died in New York on July 21, the day following his 70th birthday. He was born at Marseilles and studied at the Grand Séminaire. After having been ordained to the priesthood in Paris in 1886, he occupied pulpits in Paris (notably at Sacré Cœur) and in various parts of France. Upon the completion of 28 years of service in his native country, Rev. Théophile Wucher invited him to come to New York, where, because of his failing health, he was made chaplain in the Home of Divine Providence at Grasmere, S. I.—EUGÈNE HAMEL, French-Canadian painter, died in his native city, Quebec, on July 20 at the age of 86. His works included a set of portraits of the Speakers of the Quebec Legislative Council and Assembly, many religious tableaux and paintings of historical subjects.—H. NELSON GAY, Director of the Library for American Studies in Italy, died at Monte Carlo on Aug. 13 at the age of 62. After having been educated at Amherst (A.B., 1891) and Harvard (A.M., 1896), he became Fellow of Harvard (1900-03) and spent most of his life thereafter in Italy. At the time of his death he was said to possess "the best existing library upon the history of Italy between 1815 and 1870". The Italian Government conferred upon him the rank of Commander of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus. He was author of *Abramo Lincoln* in the *Americani Illustri* series; *Cavour e l'Incognita*; *Strenuous Italy*, 1927; and editor of *Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations*; *Americani Illustri*; etc.—EDGAR SIMMONS BUCHANAN, Latin scholar and palaeographer, died at Melbourne, Australia, on Aug. 18 at 60 years of age. A native of England, he came to New York in 1914, where he became associated with the Hispanic Society of America. His publications include the *Codex Huntingtonianus Palimpsestus*, a manuscript of the Bible originally belonging to the Cathedral of Tarragona, Spain, which Dr. Archer M. Huntington purchased in London in 1907; *The Irish-Latin Gospels in England*; etc.—JOSÉ GORDILS, poet and first editor of the newspaper *El Mundo*, died at San Juan, P. R. on Sept. 15 at the age of 65. He was born in Barcelona, a son of Gil Gordils who served as the Spanish Mayor of San Juan several years before the American occupation.—JULES JUSSERAND, called by all American newspapers "the beloved diplomat", died in Paris on July 18 in his 78th year. He was born at Lyons on Feb. 18, 1855, and educated at the universities of Lyons and Paris. Since all American newspapers contained detailed accounts of his remarkable diplomatic life, it may suffice here to mention his most important works. They are: *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, 1889; *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, 1890; *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II*, 1892; *Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais*, 1894; *Piers Plowman*, 1894; *English Essays from a French Pen*, 1895; *A Literary History of the English People*, 1895; *The Romance of a King's Life*, 1896; *Shakespeare in France*, 1898; *Les Sports et Jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France*, 1901; *Ronsard*, 1913; "George Washington" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1914; *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, 1916 (which won the \$2,000 Pulitzer Prize); *The School for Ambassadors, and Other Essays*, 1924; etc.—RENÉ BAZIN, member of the Académie Française, died in Paris on July 20 at the age of 78. In early life Bazin was, for several years, Professor of Criminal Law in the Catholic University of Angers, his native city. Most

of his long list of novels, of which the most famous are *La terre qui meurt*, *Les Oberlé* and *Donatienne*, portray French provincial life, exalting the morality and religion of the people. His sympathetic study of modern Italy, known in English as *The Italians of Today* (1904), was widely read in the United States in the early years of the 20th century. He did most of his writing at his beautiful country estate, Les Rangeardières, at St.-Barthélemy, where he brought up his eight children, one of whom, Mme Saint-Marie Perrin, translated into French the works of Henry van Dyke.—*LA COMTESSE DE MARTEL DE JANVILLE*, née Mlle Riquette de Mirabeau, known under her pseudonym of "Gyp", died on June 29 at Neuilly at the age of 82. During a period of 40 years she wrote nearly 140 books, of which probably the best known are *Le Mariage de Chiffon*, *La Paix des Champs* and *Le Cœur de Pierrette*. From 1882 to 1910 she was popular among American readers of light novels who enjoyed especially *Petit Bob*, *Maman* and *Un Mariage Dernier Cri*. Though she was severely criticized for the unfavorable moral tone of her works and the artificiality of her wit, she was nevertheless praised for her keen satire and sparkling dialogue. "Gyp" was a great-grandniece of Mirabeau; and her son, Dr. Thierry de Martel, is now chief-surgeon of the American Hospital at Neuilly. Her last publication, recently issued, consisted of a volume of souvenirs.—*FORMER KING MANOEL OF PORTUGAL*, who died at Twickenham, England, on July 2 at the age of 42, was a rare example of a king with scholarly tastes. At the time of his death he had just completed the second large volume of a catalogue which was intended to serve as a history of Portuguese printing and bookbinding. The third and final volume of the work, on which he was at work, was to have been completed before the end of the Summer. Among the treasures that he left was, according to the *New York Times*, "the finest private collection in existence of early Portuguese books and manuscripts, many dating from Portugal's golden age, the 15th and 16th centuries". This collection he is said to have bequeathed to the Portuguese Government.—*LUIGI CESANA*, well-known journalist, died at Rome on Sept. 2 at the age of 81. A native of Milan, he founded in Rome in 1878 the daily newspaper, *Il Messagero Romano*.—*ANDRÉ BAHL*, novelist and humorist, died in Paris on Sept. 11 in his 47th year.—*JULES CHÉRET*, who is said to have created the French illustrated poster, died at Nice on Sept. 22 at the age of 96. Besides a number of decorative paintings which he did for the Paris Hôtel de Ville and the Nice Prefecture, he designed many tapestries for the Gobelins ateliers.—*PIERRE DE GEYTER*, composer of *L'Internationale*, died at St.-Denis on Oct. 6 at the age of 84. A woodturner by trade and musician by avocation, he set to music in 1888 the famous song written by Eugène Pottier, the Parisian poet. In 1928 he was given a great ovation at the Sixth Congress of the International Communist Party at Moscow.—*PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON*, second son of the late Prince Louis Napoleon and Princess Marie Clothilde de Savoie and grand-nephew of Napoleon I, died at Prangins, France, on Oct. 14 at the age of 68. He was author of *The Memoirs of Queen Hortense*.

MUSIC—A CURIOUS LITERARY AND MUSICAL DOCUMENT called *The Harmonic Tree*, published in 1804 by Jean Jousse, a Revolutionary émigré in England, was discovered recently in London. It was "designed to show at one view the origin and use of all the chords employed in music". In the lower branches are the triads and chords of classic harmony; in the middle, "chords

of supposition"; and at the top, chords that anticipate modern developments, including certain idioms of Wagner. "One wonders which would have been most shocked", writes the *London Times*, "the admirers of Wagner's harmonic revolution or the pundits that condemned it", by the information that this progression had been foreseen by Jousse.—PAUL VALÉRY is urging the French Government to restore to use the famous opera house, which forms a part of the Palace of Versailles. This theatre, begun by Gabriel in 1753 and completed about 1767-70, is theoretically a meeting place of the French Senate, but in fact is never used. M. Valéry thinks that it would be an excellent setting for the music of Lulli, Gluck and Rameau, or for the plays of Racine and Molière. Thus Versailles, he asserts, would become the "Baireuth of France". But the French Government fears that if this theatre were used regularly the entire Palace would be exposed to constant danger of fire.—TRITON, a chamber-music society, was recently formed in Paris. While Dukas, Ravel, Roussel and Schmitt are on its honorary committee, the executive committee is formed of five French and four foreign musicians residing in Paris, notably Ferraud, Ibert, Milhaud, Rivier, Tomasi, Harsanyi, Honegger, Mihaloviti and Prokofieff. A policy of international exchange is its chief purpose.—PARIS, which had heretofore been cold to American jazz, became last summer, according to Henry Prunières in the *New York Times* of Sept. 4, "infatuated" with "le jazz hot". In an attempted explanation of such an abrupt change of taste, this critic notes that this manner of playing, "which consists of improvising, in the heat of playing, variations, cadenzas", etc., was practiced constantly in Europe, in the 16th and 17th centuries. As examples he cites Francesini's band in Florence in the 17th century, "who amazed listeners with their playing"; Agazzari's advice to musicians to play together "before risking any embellishments of their scores if they wished to avoid horrible confusion"; the performance of Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo* at the French Court in 1647 which lasted six hours and of which the chief artists were Gian Carlo Rossi, a virtuoso brought from Rome by Cardinal Mazarin for this production, and the poet-musician Dassoucy, "who complained of having had his shoulder wrenched under the strain of holding the theorbo", an instrument larger than himself, for so long a time; and finally the band of 24 violinists of the Courts of Louis XIII and XIV, against whose playing Lully inveighed with vigor. "As a matter of fact", concludes M. Prunières, "the dance tunes of these violinists were often curiously syncopated" with what a contemporary, Bauderon de Senecé, called "many diminutions and furbelows", and "the halting and jolting rhythm" was free from the sweet and often boring symmetry, characteristic of Lully as of Handel and Rameau.—PHILIPPE GAUBERT is now general music director of the Paris Opéra.—LOUIS MASSON, who began so auspiciously his tenure as Director of the Opéra-Comique some two years ago, resigned that position on Sept. 28 and was succeeded on Oct. 6 by J.-B. Gheusi, a dramatist, who is a former co-director of the Opéra and directed the Opéra-Comique during the World War years. The latter, which was closed during the summer for repairs, opened its official season on Oct. 15. Henceforth it will direct its efforts toward light opera and refrain from competition with the Opéra, as has been customary in recent years.—THE OPÉRA-COMIQUE revived recently Georges Hue's *Dans l'Ombre de la Cathédrale*, libretto by Maurice Léna and Mme Ferrare. The work, composed in 1921, was drawn from the novel of Blasco

Ibáñez.—THE VERCERNAJA GAZETA of Moscow announced recently the discovery of an unknown symphony by Debussy. The work, which is a four-hand piano arrangement of a symphony in three movements, has recently been analyzed by N. Zilajev and is believed to date from the composer's visit to Moscow in 1881.—MAURICE RAVEL is now preparing three works: A ballet intended for Ida Rubinstein, a cinema-opera on Jeanne d'Arc, and a cinema score.—MARCEL DELANNOY, French composer, won recently the Geo. Blumenthal Prize of 20,000 fr. The committee of award consisted of Joseph Bonnet, Paul Dukas, George Huë, Henry Malherbe, Guy Ropartz, Henri Rabaud, Maurice Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Charles Widor and André Dezarrois.—JEAN CARTAN, the composer, died recently at the age of 25. He had written songs, orchestral pieces, a sonatina for piano, and some string quartets.—JACQUES IBERT's *Paris*, a symphonic suite, was recently given in Berlin by an orchestra conducted by H. Melichar. Ibert also completed recently a string quartet and a concerto for flute.—ITALIAN COMPOSERS are now devoting much attention to religious music. Two recent successes are Mario Bruschettini's mass for chorus and organ, given on June 5 in the church of San Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, and Lorenzo Perosi's oratorio, "The Resurrection of Christ", which was revived on June 7 in the church of Ognissanti, Florence, under the direction of the composer's brother, Don Marziano, maestro di cappella of the Duomo of Milan.—FLORENCE will inaugurate next Spring a triennial music festival to be known as "Maggio Musicale Fiorentino". The program will consist of performances of opera, open-air spectacles, symphony and chamber concerts, an international music convention and a musical instrument exhibit. The works announced include a 14th-century Italian mystery play to be given in the main cloister of Santa Croce; and a group of laudi by Jacopone da Todi, taken from a Florentine collection of the 14th century, which will be sung by the choir of San Miniato al Monte.—ALBERTO DE ANGELIS' plan of a theatrical museum for the Royal Opera House of Rome has been accepted by the governing committee, and he has been named the first curator. Rather than a general museum, as at La Scala, he proposes a specific collection, limited, says the *New York Times*, "to documents and relics evoking the history of the Reale and its predecessor, the Costanzi, together with all other musical institutions of Rome, from the beginning of the 19th century".—THE ITALIAN STATE TOURIST DEPARTMENT issued recently a handbook containing a historical survey of Italian music, descriptions of opera houses, information about conservatories, names of the best Italian orchestras and bands, the most popular choral societies, the principal music schools, and, finally, an account of musical museums and libraries.—L'UNIVERSITÀ POPOLARE of Milan instituted in June a contest for a hymn to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Fascist Revolution. As none of the 300 efforts submitted was deemed worthy of a prize, the contest was prolonged to Aug. 31.—THE FIRST NATIONAL PIANISTS' TOURNAMENT, held in Genoa during the Summer, favored the modern native composers since the elective works included two pieces by Casella, two by Castelnuovo, and one each by Respighi and Achille Longo. The latter teaches harmony at Naples where he was born in 1900.—F. T. MARINETTI, as the leader of Italian futurists, expressed recently his disapproval of the reactionary realistic scenography adopted for the open-air opera season in the Roman arena of Verona. He wishes to substitute there-

for "futurist operas in which the drama of human sentiments shall unfold in an emotive atmosphere devoid of all factors of time and place."—GINO MARINUZZI gave during the Summer a symphony program at the Teatro Comunale of Trieste, which included works of two local composers, Cesare Nordio and Gastone Zuccoli, an *Andante* by Gemminai, and his own *Elegy*, the *Mossolof Steel Foundry*. Marinuzzi also conducted at La Scala in Milan his symphonic poem, *Sicania*, which, according to R. Hall, is "a work of rhapsodic character, based on Sicilian folk themes."—THE CONSERVATORIOS GIUSEPPE TARTINI, founded in 1903, and Giuseppe Verdi, founded in 1904, were recently merged by the Dopolavoro into a new institute known as the Ateneo Musicale Triestino, with Federico Bugamelli of Bologna, a pupil of Mascagni, as artistic director. Other consolidations are expected to follow soon.—LA TAVOLATA DELL' ANTICO FATTORE of Florence awarded, at a meeting of its jury of 22 painters, sculptors and writers, its annual music prize to a *Fantasia* for piano by Pietro Montani, victor among 46 contestants. Montani, composer of numerous chamber and symphonic works, is a pupil of Vito Frazzi and teaches in the Florence Conservatory.—OPEN-AIR PERFORMANCES of opera were very successful in all parts of Italy during the Summer. The sole novelty, however, presented at any place was Baron Pierantonio Tasca's *La Lupa* given at Syracuse.—VITTORIO GNECCHI's opera, *Rosiera*, which Raymond Hall calls in the *New York Times* of July 3 a "delicate lyric idyll", was given its Italian première at Ravenna on June 5. This work, as well as the same composer's *Cassandra*, had theretofore been barred from Italy, according to the same critic.—A NEW HYMN by Pietro Mascagni, dedicated to the Madonna of Montenero, was recently given its first performance by a chorus of 150 voices and an orchestra of 100 at the famous sanctuary of that name at Leghorn. The verses were composed by Targioni-Tozzetti, who wrote the libretto of *Cavalleria Rusticana*.—RICCARDO ZANDONAI is preparing two operas, the librettos of both being by Arturo Rossato. The first, *La partita*, is a tragic episode in one act with a Spanish 17th century setting, and the other, *La farsa amorosa*, is a comic opera in three acts dealing with Lombardy at the time of the Spanish domination.—MAGLIANI and BONAVOLONTÀ's two-act lyric comedy, *The Green Dance*, book by Lucio D'Ambra, and the two-act *Oedipus Rex*, book and music by Aldo Aytano, the young Sardinian who composed the *Official Hymn of the Fascist Martyrs* (1926), are characterized by the *New York Times* of Oct. 2 as "two sporadic and abortive attempts at opera recently perpetrated at Rome."—ERARDO TRENTINAGLIA, artistic director of La Scala since 1931, gave up his post in July because of his inability, according to the *New York Times* of July 10, "to assert himself against a multitude of masters". It is now believed that Pietro Fabbri (born in Verona in 1882), who was appointed assistant conductor of La Scala in 1913 by Tullio Serafin, will succeed Trentinaglia. Fabbri has had wide experience in various theatres and operas of Italy, where he has given considerable attention to symphonic music.—THE SPANISH MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION appointed, on July 12, Oscar Esplá to the chair of "folklore in composition" in the Conservatorio Nacional de Música y Declamación. Among his duties will be the development of Spanish musicological research and the promotion of folklore festivals, already initiated by Pedrell, in his *Cancionero*, Barbieri and other pioneers. This movement will be wel-

comed since much of the native music is rapidly disappearing, e. g., the "cante jondo" of Andalusia; the "toque jondo", now almost wholly corrupted into the gypsy "flamenco"; the "charros" of Salamanca; the "bailes a lo llano" of Burgos; the "danzas" of Játiva and Albaida; etc. Other important subjects to be taken up by Esplá include the early lyric theatre of Spain, the Spanish madrigal, of which only a few examples exist, and medieval music in Spain, heretofore known only through the studies of Eslavá.—THE NATIONAL SPANISH OPERA, formerly the Teatro Real, made recently formal announcement of its plans for the coming season. Pending the development of grand opera, the program, says R. Hall in the *New York Times* of Aug. 7, is confined to "classic Spanish pieces akin in spirit to the zarzuela, together with a liberal representation of native contemporaries". Thus, he continues, "a powerful stimulus is being given to the living composers of Spain, the only condition being the purpose to elevate the zarzuela form". Furthermore the two zarzuela troupes "who shall have most distinguished themselves in the 1932-33 season in line with the artistic aims of the Music Council", will receive prizes of 50,000 and 25,000 pesetas respectively. The following Spanish novelties will be presented: Amadeo Vives, *Talismán*, book by Romero and Fernández Shaw; Oscar Esplá, *La Belle Durmiente*, book by Hernández Catá; Conrado del Campo, *Fígaro*, book by Tomas Borrás; Facundo de la Viña, *La Montaraza*, book by Espresati and Pérez Dolz; and José M. Usandizaga, *Mendi-Mendiyan*, book by J. Power, translated from the Basque by Augusto Barrado. The Spanish repertory works include Chapí, *Curro Vargas*; Barbieri, *Jugar con Fuego*; Bretón, *La Dolores*; F. Caballero, *Los Sobrinos del Capitán Grant*; Vives, *Doña Francisquita*; Usandizaga, *Las Golondrinas*; Barbieri, *El Barberillo de Lavapiés*; and de Falla, *La Vida Breve*. The conductors and cast will consist of native Spaniards. The 1933-34 program will be selected by the Music Council from the unpublished scores submitted. Complete liberty of subject is permitted, the only conditions being the artistic quality of the music, the literary value of the librettos and the accompaniment of the orchestral scores by the arrangement for piano and voice.—THE ROYAL PAVILION of Barcelona's recent International Exposition has now become the Albeniz Museum, so named in honor of the collector-composer of folksongs and tunes not only of his native Catalonia but of all the other regions of Spain as well.—BARCELONA has announced the award in Dec., 1934, of the Paixot Prize of 20,000 pesetas, offered for a lyric musical work comprising at least three acts. The contest is open to Catalans and to all composers who have lived two years in Catalonia.—HENRY PRUNIÈRES, in discussing the "tendencies of modern composers" in the *New York Times* of Oct. 23, finds that "the music of differing peoples seems to be tending toward unity." "Typical French grace, German force, Italian lyricism and Russian savagery," he states, may be found in the works of individual composers, but "each composer tries to attain an identical end and obey a general tendency which imposes itself equally upon them all." This unity he finds in the revival of classic and pre-classic forms, such as the symphony, concerto, toccata, passacaglia, rondo, fugue and quartet; the substitution of restrained atonality for the vanishing classic tonality, which has dethroned the major scale; and that, in all countries, young composers are far less revolutionary than those of from 40 to 60. In brief, he says, "the musical language must organize itself, a new syntax must be created" after new ideas have been put into circulation.

Thus, "in a similar fashion," he concludes, "the painters who followed the impressionists imposed on themselves the rigor of cubism in order to finally achieve a new classic style infused with a new sensibility." In regard to the symphonies, he considers as the French masterpieces of the past two years those of Albert Roussel, Honegger, and Florent Schmitt.—THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL MUSIC FESTIVAL OF VENICE was marked, according to R. Hall in the *New York Times* of Oct. 15, by three special features, viz., "the prominence of American music, the experiment in chamber opera revival and the stimulus given music composed for radio." Notable offerings were the Argentine folklore lyrics, inspired by the songs of the gauchos and indios of the pampas, such as Carlos López Buchardo's *Iujena*, Pascual De Rogatis' *Chacarera*, Florio Ugarte's *Caballito Criollo*, Athos Palma's *Canciones Saltenas*, Raúl Espoile's *El Palito*, and the Brazilian songs of Heitor Villa-Lobos, the sardonic *Nozani-nà* from the Matto Grosso Indios and the fierce lament, *Mokocè cémakà* of the Paricis tribe. The best contributions to chamber music included Alfredo Casella's two-act opera, *La Favola d'Orfeo*, of which the book was adapted by Corrado Pavolini from the classic tragedy, written by Agnolo Poliziano for the festivities of Cardinal Gonzaga at the Mantua Court in 1478; Adriano Lualdi's charming one-act ballet, *La Grançéola* (Venetian for *Grancevola*, "lobster"), adapted from a novel by Riccardo Bacchelli, inspired by a Dalmatian legend; and the Spaniard, Manuel de Falla's miniature jewel, *Master Pedro's Puppet Show*.—MALIPIERO is now setting to music a libretto by Pirandello, the first operatic attempt made by the dramatist.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—AMBASSADOR CLAUDEL, who came to Washington in 1927, is now the Dean of the diplomatic corps through the recent departure of the Italian Ambassador de Martino.—THE BOOK OF THE MONTH CLUB distributed for its August choice two French novels: Jean Schlumberger's *Saint Saturnin*, which received the Northcliffe Prize in London, and Antoine de St. Exupéry's *Night Flight*, which won the Prix Fémina. Schlumberger, along with André, founded *La Nouvelle Revue Française*; and St. Exupéry, formerly a military aviator in Morocco, was sent to Buenos Aires to organize a postal air service.—SISTER MARY LOUIS TOWNER published recently her doctoral dissertation, presented at the Catholic University of America, entitled *Lavision-Christine, Introduction and Text*. Since only one of the prose-works of Christine de Pisan has heretofore been published, this edition of one of her chief works will be welcomed by scholars.—LA COMMISSION FRANCE-AMÉRIQUE, composed of Henri Bergson, Henry Bordeaux, Gustave Lanson, Pierre de Nolhac and others, selected 12 books for its Summer List. Among them were Jacques Bainville, *Napoléon*; Paul Morand, *Air Indien*; A. T'serskevans, *L'Amour autour de la Maison*; Alfred Drouin, *Le Songe de la Terre* (Poésie); and Jules Marsan, *Stendhal*.—THE PARIS MIDI completed recently a survey which showed that "De l'Académie Française" on the title pages of books fails to add to their sales value. Thus, Pierre Benoit's *L'Atlantide*, written before the author was an Academician, sold far better than his *L'Île verte*, written afterward. Louis Bertrand's *Histoire de l'Espagne* reached its 28th edition in two months, but, according to a publisher, "the Academy has nothing to do with it." The same was said of Henry Bordeaux, whose 14 novels have sold 1,817,000 copies, Abel Hermant, Maurice Donnay, Marcel Prévost and Paul

Bourget. An exception is made, however, in the case of Gen. Weygand's *Turenne* which undoubtedly benefited much from the publicity attending his election to the Academy.—FRENCH AUTHORS complain that during the year 1932 readers failed signally to buy books. Though books by well-known authors were offered at very low prices on the Parisian Boulevards during the Summer, few sales were effected. Writers are inclined to attribute this lack of interest to the lending library and the *bibliobus*. But a French journalist, according to the *New York Times* of Aug. 20, believes that such institutions enable those unable to buy books at present to keep up their reading habits.—MAURICE MAETERLINCK is now a Count. The title was conferred on him by the King of Belgium on Aug. 29, the poet's 70th birthday. It was then recalled that a Maeterlinck, bailiff of Renaix, who bore as a device "Quand voudrait Dieu", was made a Chevalier in the 14th century for having saved his fellow citizens from famine. On Sept. 21, M. Maeterlinck was also made Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor on the nomination of Premier Herriot.—PROF. THERRIOT announced from Istanbul on Aug. 13 that he had discovered in Topkapu Cemetery the grave of Aziyadé, heroine of Pierre Loti's first novel, written in 1879. *Aziyadé* made a deep impression at the time for its impressionistic and melancholy atmosphere.—THE PAST THEATRICAL SEASON was one of the worst, from the commercial point of view, that Paris has experienced in many years. Only seven new productions were financially successful, *viz.*, Marcel Pagnol's *Fanny*; René Fauchois' *Prenez garde à la peinture*; Marcel Achard's *Domino*; Louis Verneuil's *La Banque Némó*; Francis de Croisset's *Il était une fois*; Jacques Deval's *Mademoiselle*; and Pierre Scize's *Ludo*. And of them all only *Ludo* seems to have real artistic value.—THE FUTURE OF THE THEATRE was a favorite subject of discussion in Paris during the Summer. René Clair, writing in *Le Temps*, holds that the theatre as an industry is doomed to disappear, but that the cinema will liberate it as an art. Alexis Granowsky, inaugurator of the Russian Jewish drama in Paris, asserts, according to Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of Aug. 14, that "the theatre must forsake mere literature and go back to the sense of movement at the source of it", *i. e.*, it must express "the rhythm of our own age". Finally Jacques Chabannes, the critic, and Gaston Baty, the producer, "both find the artistic trouble in the fact that the public has ceased to believe in the theatre", which "is no longer moving with the times". Indeed the former believes that "the best plays of 1932 might quite well have been produced in 1912", in so far as our conception of science, industry, religion, etc., is concerned.—THE RECENT SUCCESSFUL REVIVAL OF HAMLET by the Comédie Française, in which Yonnel and Madeleine Renaud appeared, aroused interest in the history of French productions of the play. From the "preposterous version of Ducis", given originally at the Comédie in 1769 and in which "Talma was to make one of his great successes during the First Empire", adaptations, according to Philip Carr in the *Times*, were preferred by actors up to the end of the 19th century. Even Mounet-Sully, who acted the part more than 200 times during the twenty years following its revival in 1886, made use of a rather free French version. However, the three actresses who have appeared in the rôle of the prince since the dawn of the 20th century, have insisted on fairly faithful translations. They are Sarah Bernhardt, who played Hamlet "in 1899 in Paris and London after having appeared as Ophelia 13

years earlier"; Suzanne Desprès in 1913; and Marguerite Jamois in 1931 in "Gaston Baty's quaint presentation of a French version of the First Quarto text". Contributions to Shakespearean criticism included an ingenious theory of Abel Lefranc, according to which "the Queen in the play is an allusion to Mary Queen of Scots, who certainly married the murderer of her second husband, Darnley, and perhaps had something to do with the mysterious death of her first husband, King Francis II of France".—THE ODÉON revived with notable success last September Dumas' *La Tour de Nesle*. This success is attributed by Philip Carr in the *Times* of Sept. 25 not only to the "gay and dashing pace" of the performance, but especially to the genius of Dumas which "is constantly breaking through all the glaring absurdities of the plot and the writing" of the piece.—THE CONSERVATOIRE'S ANNUAL EXAMINATIONS, held during the Summer, were marked by few candidates and no first prizes in tragedy. "There was, however, an innovation", says Philip Carr in the *Times*, "in that the candidates all wore costumes", which enabled them to show how they could wear historical clothes.—LE STUDIO FÉMININ, an exclusively feminine theatre, was founded recently in Paris. The plays are to be written, produced, performed and supplied with incidental music by women only. Even the scenery will be both designed and shifted without the help of men. The chief aim of the enterprise is to encourage women to take a more active part in the theatre.—USHERS in Parisian theatres organized during August in order to do away with the tipping system. They complain that they are being exploited by concessionnaires and demand either salaries or a reduction in the concessionnaire's share of their earnings.—SACHA GUITRY's *La Jalousie* was recently added to the repertory of the Comédie Française in a very successful performance.—LE BARGY will appear this season in the part which Sacha Guitry originally wrote for his father, Lucien Guitry, in *Mon père avait raison*.—CHARLES DULLIN's "Atelier" company and Michel Saint-Denis' "Compagnie des Quinze" will set out this season on a joint tour of France and England, giving alternate productions.—MICHAEL MORTON's *The Fatal Alibi*, a stage version of a story by Agatha Christie produced in New York last winter, was given in Paris in September in a French adaptation by Jacques Deval under the title of *Signor Bracoli*. Notwithstanding its success Philip Carr well characterizes it in the *Times* of Oct. 2 as "a purely mechanical and irritating detective play".—A THEATRICAL MUSEUM AND LIBRARY was opened recently in the Palazzo del Burcardo at Rome. It contains the Raccolta Luigi Rasi which consists of several thousand prints extending from the 16th to the 20th centuries, reported a veritable mine of unpublished information on the Commedia dell'Arte; 100 colored terracotta statuettes representing masks and buffoon types from the 15th century on; innumerable marionettes, costumes, prints, lithographs, engravings, etc. A later addition was the library of 20,000 volumes formerly belonging to the dramatic critic, Cesare Levi.—THE "PARTHENOPEAN FESTIVAL", or anthology of historical Neapolitan folksong and dance, toured in Italian cities by Ernesto Murolo, has inspired other cities to revive their native lore. During the latter part of the Summer Turin staged more than 20 such selections, half Piedmontese and half from other regions, with the collaboration of chorus, dancers, and mimes under the direction of Cesare Meano.—LE NOTTE ANGELICHE, a mystery play arranged by Onorato Castellino from scriptural

texts, with musical accompaniment by Federico Ghedini, was given recently in the Sanctuary of Oropa, near Biella, with such success that, during September, Germano Caselli's three-act sacred vision, *Le Marie al Sepolcro* was revived in the choral-orchestral setting of Don Pietro's Magri. Since more than 50,000 persons viewed the performances before the mid-August holidays, it has been decided to make the Oropa mystery plays an annual event.—F. T. MARINETTI, Academician and founder of the futurist school, has established in Italy a "sporting theatre" in which only plays dealing with sport will be given. "Sport, which is today one of the principal elements of physical life", says Marinetti in the *New York Times* of Sept. 11, "must become an inspiring element of the esthetic function".—LITERARY WORKS that are now being filmed in France include *Don Quixote* in a scenario by Paul Morand, with Chaliapin in the leading rôle; Hugo's *Les Misérables*; Pierre Louys' *Les Aventures du Roi Pausole*; and Daudet's *Tartarin de Tarascon* and *Sapho*. Hollywood's version of the latter work, *Inspiration*, played by Greta Garbo, brought forth a lawsuit from Daudet's heirs because the producers failed to mention their indebtedness to the novel.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS produced in New York during the past quarter include the following, with dates of presentation: Aug. 16, Marcel Achard's *Domino*, adapted by Grace George, which Brooks Atkinson in the *New York Times* describes as "an artificial trifle that talks most of its amusement away before the second-act curtain"; Aug. 18, the film, *Love Me Tonight*, based on a play by Léopold Marchand and Paul Armont, which was praised for the art of Chevalier; Sept. 27, the film, *Le Bal*, an adaptation of Irene Nemirovsky's novel, of which Mordaunt Hall in the *Times* writes: "André Lefour is worthy of a better picture, for he gives an excellent portrayal of Alfred"; Oct. 3, the film, *Amore e Morte*, adapted from the "teatro dialettale siciliano", which Walter Littlefield calls a "remarkably striking and convincing rustic tragedy, with the dialogue in Sicilian", followed by *L'Attore cinematografico*, in which Farfariello (E. Migliaccio), known to the New York Italians as "il re dei macchietisti", gives a series of amusing impersonations; Oct. 12, the French comedy film, *La Couturière de Lunéville*, in which the versatility of Madeleine Renaud was praised; Oct. 18, Jacques Deval's play, *Mademoiselle*, which, according to critics, is "not to be taken seriously"; Oct. 19, the French language film, *David Golder*, criticised as "amateurish".

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY—FRENCH WORKS OF ART bequeathed by the late Lizzie P. Bliss to the Museum of Modern Art in New York include the following: 11 paintings, 10 water-colors and two colored lithographs by Cézanne with a total valuation of \$300,000, of which the most important are "The Bather", valued at \$60,000; "Still Life", \$50,000; "Pines and Rocks", \$40,000; and "Self Portrait", \$35,000; Degas, "Race Course", \$40,000; Seurat, "Port en Bassin", Modigliani, "Portrait de Mme B." and Daumier, "La Lavendeuse", \$35,000 each; Picasso, "Woman in White", \$25,000; Matisse, "Girl in Green" and "Interior", \$20,000 each; and Rousseau, "The Jungle", \$6,500.—23 FRENCH PAINTINGS were bequeathed recently by the late Mrs. Annie S. Coburn to the Chicago Art Institute, along with a trust fund of \$200,000 for the upkeep of the collection. Among the masters whose works are included in the gift are Renoir, Monet, Cézanne, Degas, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Picasso.—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM at New York held during the Summer an exhibition entitled "The Taste

of Today in Masterpieces of Painting Before 1900". The purpose of the display, according to the *Museum Bulletin*, was "to represent . . . the painters of the past who are the favorites of the younger generation of artists and connoisseurs in our locality". The artists of the Latin nations were Titian, Tintoretto, Greco, Rubens, Poussin, Claude, Goya, Corot (figure pieces), Delacroix, Daumier, Courbet, Degas, Renoir, Cézanne, Seurat, Gauguin, and Van Gogh. However, E. A. Jewell, of the *New York Times*, is very sceptical of the accuracy of the method of selection of these artists and adds thereto a long list of his own.—THE BOSTON MUSEUM has added of late many prints to its already splendid collection. Among the artists from the Latin nations who are represented among the recent acquisitions are Goya, Manet, Picasso, Lautrec, and especially Daumier, with more than 3,000 lithographs.—THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION circulated recently throughout the country a "theme" exhibition consisting of the works of six painters, of whom two were Germans, two French and two Americans. The Frenchmen were Roland Oudot, who, though not an outstanding figure, was praised for his originality, and Paul Champagne, noted for his "theory of correspondences".—MRS. CHESTER DALE'S RESIGNATION from the chairmanship of the exhibition committee of the Museum of French Art is called by E. A. Jewell in the *New York Times* "the season's most serious setback". In 1931 Mr. and Mrs. Dale had given to the French Institute "its present delightful galleries, ideally equipped", by virtue of which the Museum of French Art "came into existence". Mrs. Dale also organized some splendid exhibitions already mentioned in these pages, — notably "Portraits of Women; Romanticism to Sur-réalisme", "Picasso-Braque-Léger", "Fantin-Latour", "Derain and Vlaminck"—as a part of a three-year program. In an appreciative article in its May 28 issue *The Art News* states that her resignation "was occasioned by several requests put forward by the administration, which ran counter to policies approved at the time of her accepting office".—K. J. CONANT, Professor of Archaeology at Harvard, reported, on his return from France on Sept. 25, that rapid progress had been made in the work of excavating on the site of the ancient cathedral at Cluny, which was 616 feet long and was built in 1088 by the Benedictine monks.—THE ROYAL ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUM of Stockholm announced on Aug. 27 the discovery of a caché of rare idols, pottery, etc., at Toltec near Mexico City. The most curious object was a hollow clay idol of Xipe, "the god of the flayed", of half human size. The idol is made to represent a wrinkled skin, "as it was the custom of his worshippers", according to *Science Service*, "to flay the skins from the bodies of their captives and wear them for a month".—A MONUMENT dedicated to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the American sculptor, was unveiled on Sept. 11 at Saint-Gaudens, a town in the Pyrennes, where his paternal ancestors originated. The sculptor was born in Dublin of an Irish mother.—THE CENTENARY of Manet's birth was celebrated by an exhibition held in Paris during the late Summer. Works of his displayed included "Le Déjeuner dans l'Atelier"; "Déjeuner sur l'Herbe"; "Le Christ aux Anges", praised by Zola and Baudelaire; "La Femme au Gant (1870)"; "La Femme à Deux Eventails"; "L'Enfant à l'Epée"; etc. The Phillips Memorial Gallery, Metropolitan Museum, Boston Museum and nine American collectors loaned paintings to the exhibit.—RESTORATION of the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel in the Tuileries Gardens, made possible by funds from an American donor, has

now been completed. The monument had suffered from humidity from the Seine.—W. W. S. COOK, Professor of the History of Spanish Art, New York University, described, in the *New York Times* of Sept. 25, the 2,000 photographs of historic art objects taken by him during a two-year sojourn in Spain. These include a series of Romanesque mural paintings in the Colegiata de San Isidoro, León, "the most complete and finest in existence"; Bibles of 960 and 1140 in the same monastery; Mozarabic MSS and a Bible of 920 in the León Cathedral, including commentaries on the Book of Revelations by Beatus of Liebana, dating from the 8th century; 5th century Romanesque mural paintings in a chapel near Lugo; a 12th century Romanesque mural of the Pentecost, in a chapel in Vidra, Catalonia; 12th century panels, "the oldest in Europe", in abandoned chapels in Catalonia and Aragon; 14th century murals by Ferrer Bassa in the Convent of Pedralbes, Barcelona, "the earliest in Spain to show Italian influence"; etc.—A GREAT PICASSO SHOW, consisting of 236 exhibits, was held in Paris during the Summer. This extraordinary productivity drew from Sir Wm. Rothenstein the following words: "Picasso, that sorry rake who spends every week-end with a new style". Among the works displayed were "L'Atelier" (1925); "La Ceinture jaune"; "La Flute de Pan"; "Les Amoureux"; etc.—THÉODORE CHASSÉRIAU, thanks to the splendid study on him by Léonce Bénédite and André Dezarrois, is now coming into his own after the years of oblivion into which his work sunk upon his death in 1856. Artists are turning to this pupil of Ingres as the unhailed genius, mainly because of his rare comprehension of Eastern types which he began to study in Algeria at the age of 25. M. Bénédite reproduces "Les Deux Sœurs", now in the Louvre, which Degas called "the most beautiful painting of the century", and the portrait of the Marquise Destutt de Tracy, painted from memory after her death.—MILLET's "ANGELUS", now in the Louvre, was badly slashed by an insane man during the Summer. The work of restoration was so delicate that it required experts more than two months to complete it.—HERACLEA, RHODANOUSSIA AND THELINE, three ancient cities of the Camargue plains in the Rhone delta, have been partly uncovered by archaeologists. Though working under difficulties in the marshes, excavators "already have uncovered", says the *New York Times* of Aug. 28, "the ruins of many houses, ancient water mains and reservoirs".—THE NEW VATICAN ART GALLERY was opened on Oct. 28. The building occupies a huge site in the 18th century Italian garden of the Vatican. Rooms in which the paintings are distributed are arranged as follows: Byzantine primitives and Giotto; Melozzo and Da Forli; Raphael; Leonardo da Vinci; paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries. The Vatican collection, less than 150 years old, is not large, but is very valuable.—THE TWO ROMAN SHIPS, lying at the bottom of Lake Nemi, have now been completely recovered, since the work of dragging the larger one 500 yards up the shores of the lake to its permanent home was terminated on Oct. 28. This ship is 233 feet long and has a maximum width of 79 feet. A projecting balcony for 100 to 150 oarsmen ran along its two sides, having a width of 15 feet at the waist of the ship and slightly more than 26 feet at the two extremities. The following two discoveries were announced on Sept. 9 in the *New York Times*: a bronze post, having at the top two exquisitely molded female heads, and a fluted column of rare marble resting on an elaborately carved bracket.—THE NEUE WIENER JOURNAL of Aug. 13 described

a collection of old masters discovered in Castle Korompa in Czechoslovakia. The works include: "St. Cecilia" by Da Vinci; "Resurrection" by Titian; and paintings by Rubens, Tintoretto, Van Dyck, Velasquez, Holbein and Murillo. Castle Korompa is where Beethoven stayed when he composed the "Moonlight Sonata".—ART EXHIBITIONS held in New York during the past quarter include the following (with dates of opening): July 5, "Fine Prints of Six Centuries", in which the Latin nations were represented by Domenico Campagnola, "Shepherd and Old Warrior"; Claude Gellée, "The Herdsman"; Besnard, "Dans les Cendres"; Alphonse Legros, "Portrait of Cardinal Manning"; Forain, Daubigny, Daumier, Auguste Lepère, Gavarni, Millet, etc.; Aug. 1, "Masterpieces of the Last Fifty Years", including Daumier, Derain, Gauguin, Picasso, Matisse, Van Gogh, Albert Marquet, Cézanne and Degas; Sept. 12, an "International Show" condemned by E. A. Jewell as lacking in "new ideas", which contained works by Marc Chagall, Jean Charlot, José Clemente Orozco, Georges Rouault and others; Sept. 20, at the New School for Social Research, the Ecuadorian, Camilo Egas, who previously thereto had given an exhibition of his oils, displayed a set of illustrations made for Isadore Lhevinne's novel, *Tsantsa*; Oct. 7, realistic etchings of Félix Buhot, including the somber "Bay of St. Malo", and the poetic "Moonrise at Dinard"; Oct. 8, pastels and drawings by Aristide Maillol, the French sculptor; Oct. 10, facsimile reproductions of paintings and drawings by Van Gogh; Oct. 10, an exhibition of Italian baroque painting, assembled by the College Art Association with the aid of Dr. Lionello Venturi of Paris and Prof. Hermann Voss of Berlin, containing works of Luca Cambiaso, Federigo Baroccio, Lodovico and Annibale Carracci, Caravaggio, Guido Reni, Domenichino, Andrea Sacchi, Bernardo Strozzi, and Guercino of the 16th century; Mattia Preti, Salvator Rosa, Carlo Dolci, Gian Battista and Gian Domenico Tiepolo, Pannini, Canaletto, Pietro Longhi, Francesco Guardi and others of the 17th and 18th centuries; Oct. 11, an exhibition of French paintings, water colors and drawings by Ingres, Delacroix, Puvis de Chavannes, Eugène Boudin, Corot, Degas, Forain, Pissarro, Berthe Morisot, Cézanne, Redon, Segonzac, Lautrec, Soutine, Henri Matisse, Rouault, Derain and Braque; Oct. 13, works by seven artists among whom the Latin nations were represented by Paul Berdanier and G. Madelain; Oct. 25, portraits of artists, the French works by Derain, Carolus Duran, Fantin-Latour and Paul Paulin.

MISCELLANEOUS—THE MONUMENT at Meaux, commemorating the Battle of the Marne, was unveiled on Sept. 11. The huge statue, 130 feet high standing on a 66 foot pedestal, was designed by Frederick MacMonnies. Representing America's acknowledgment of France's gift of the Statue of Liberty, this monument was erected from donations of 4,000,000 Americans, mostly school children.—ÆGIDIUS FAUTEAUX, President of the Historical Society of Montreal, presented to Fort Ticonderoga, N. Y., on July 10 a tablet commemorating the construction of the original fort there. The inscription reads as follows: "This tablet is erected to Michel, Marquis de Chartier de Lotbinière, Knight of St. Louis, Seigneur of Alainville, on Lake Champlain, who as engineer in charge under instruction from Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of New France, built Fort Carillon, 1755-1758".—L'ÉGLISE DU SAINT ESPRIT, at New York, observed on July 31 the 641st anniversary of the foundation of the Swiss Confederation. This church, which was founded in the 17th century by French

Huguenots, had, during the period of the persecution of the latter in France, four native Swiss pastors who kept the congregation intact.—A UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT decree of August 20 formally sets forth that Ponce de León made his first landing on American soil in 1513 at St. Augustine, Florida, and not at Jacksonville Beach as many have heretofore claimed.—THE ROCKEFELLER CENTER, at New York, has commissioned the Mexican artist, Diego Rivera, to execute a mural, 63 feet long and 17 feet high, representing "man at the cross roads looking with uncertainty but with hope and high vision to the choosing of a course leading to a new and better future". José Maria Sert, the Spanish artist, will paint for the same four panels expressing man's new mastery over the material universe, through his power, will, imagination and genius.—THE OSSERVATORE ROMANO devoted a column on its front page on Aug. 8 to an account of the life of Catherine Takakwitha, an American Indian woman, who died near Caughnawaga, Canada, in 1680 and is now a candidate for beatification.—LE COMITÉ FRANCE-AMÉRIQUE unveiled on July 30 busts of Washington and Simon Bolivar in the House of American Nations in Paris.—DINANT is erecting on the banks of the Meuse a monument to the 674 victims of the German invasion in 1914 and plans to use thereon Whitney Warren's balustrade which was rejected by Louvain.—EUGENE BAGGER finds, in an article contributed to the August *Harper's*, that Nîmes, France, possesses all of the characteristics of an American "Middletown".—THE DUC DE RICHELIEU presented recently to the Sorbonne the Château de Richelieu, with its magnificent grounds, south of the Loire, as a refuge for professors in need of repose.—THE OLD ST. LAZARE PRISON, a landmark of Paris, was torn down in September. Among its famous prisoners were Beaumarchais, who spent three days there after the first performance of the *Mariage de Figaro* in 1784; André Chénier, who wrote *La Jeune Captive* while incarcerated there for four months in 1794; and many prominent Royalists during the Terror.—LA SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS DE SAINTE HÉLÈNE, whose President is Mlle de Las Cases, great-granddaughter of Napoleon's companion in exile, has now at its disposal about 500,000 francs for the restoration of Longwood. The plans of the society include the rebuilding of the apartments of Montholon, Gourgaud and Las Cases and the re-planting of the gardens.—THE RENNES MUNICIPAL COUNCIL denied on Sept. 12th the existence of a Breton autonomist movement. The decree was issued in reply to charges that the destruction early in August of the City Hall's bas-relief, commemorating the union of Brittany with France in 1532, was the work of leaders of the language movement.—THE SARCOPHAGI of Charles X of France and of five Princes and Princesses of his Bourbon line, which were removed to Schoenbrunn Palace in Vienna in 1915 for protection, were returned on Sept. 24, at the request of Prince Francis Xavier, present head of the house of Bourbon-Parma, to their original resting place in the Franciscan Monastery at Castagnevizza, Italy.—THE SPANISH CORTES approved on Sept. 8 a law providing for the distribution for social welfare of Jesuit properties valued at \$30,000,000. The most valuable buildings concerned included the Art and Industrial Institutes at Madrid, the Beusto Commercial and Literary University at Bilbao, the Jesuit shrine at Loyola, and Barcelona College.—THE 24TH WORLD ESPERANTO CONFERENCE, which was held at the Sorbonne in Paris early in August, was attended by 1,500 delegates from 34 countries. It was reported then that in

Germany there now are more than 1,000 teachers of Esperanto and that Premier Herriot has encouraged its teaching in the schools of Lyons.—THE ZOUAVE on the Alma Bridge, a favorite of American students in Paris during several generations, is doomed to disappear soon. The sculptor, Georges Diéboldt, chose, as a model for the statue, a zouave of the Crimean War, André Louis Gody, who also served France in Africa and Italy. After having won citations in the Franco-Prussian War, Gody was retired after 25 years' service in the army and died in 1896 at the age of 78.—THE LOUVRE loaned to the Museum of Modern Art in New York for its American Exhibition, which was opened on Nov. 2, Whistler's "Portrait of the Artist's Mother." The painting was finished in 1870-71, and was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1881.—A TAPESTRY FOLDING SCREEN, "The Gardens," designed by Paul Véra, was purchased in August by the Metropolitan Museum from the Manufacture Nationale at Beauvais. This was said to be the first order to be received directly from a foreign buyer by the Manufacture in more than 100 years.—THE MEXICAN SUPREME COURT issued, on Oct. 17, a decision in favor of the central government, with regard to jurisdiction over archaeological discoveries at Monte Alban. Hence, excavations at that place will be resumed, as well as at Texmelincan, at the Toltec city of San Juan Teotihuacan, and at the Mayan city of Chichen Itza, in Yucatan.—THE FRENCH MINISTRY OF FINE ARTS held during October an exhibition of the paintings of James Ensor, whom Elie Faure calls the greatest Belgian artist since Meunier.—THE POPULARITY of Giorgione's small canvas, "The Tempest" (28 x 30 inches in size), has revived the vogue of the old masters in Italy (Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, 1932, p. 294). Furthermore, the restoration of Titian's birthplace at Pieve di Cadore, declared a national monument in 1922, and the recent discovery of a wall of beautiful frescoes, possibly by the two Lorenzettis, in the episcopal palace of Colle Val d'Elsa, near Siena, have only served to add to this interest.—PROF. CALZA uncovered on Oct. 13 at Ostia, Italy, a fragment of a large marble slab of *Fasti Annales* containing accounts of feasts between 108 and 112 A. D., and a list of Trajan's chief public works, including the Appian Hill baths, rebuilding of the Temple of Venus Genitrix in Caesar's Forum, dedication of the Trajan Column, construction of the Ulpian Basilica and Forum, and of the aqueduct from Lake Bracciano to Rome, etc.

J. L. G.

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La Revue Anglo-Américaine est entrée en Octobre 1930 dans sa huitième année.

Seule revue française consacrée uniquement aux questions de littérature et de civilisation anglaises et américaines, elle paraît en 6 numéros d'au moins 96 pages, dont chacun contient des articles de fond, des notes et documents, des comptes-rendus, faits par des spécialistes, des livres importants publiés en Angleterre, en Amérique et en France, une revue des revues anglaises, américaines et françaises, et un bulletin signalant les faits principaux qui peuvent intéresser les français qui s'occupent des questions anglaises et américaines.

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Un des plus éminents historiens anglais de la littérature, écrivait dernièrement: «The articles seem to me of a surprisingly high standard». Les revues américaines citent ses articles et ses comptes-rendus, et la considèrent comme une des plus importantes revues littéraires d'Europe. La Quinzaine critique et littéraire (25 Mars) constate que la Revue Anglo-Américaine contient «une masse de compte-rendus très bien faits et indispensables à classer dans les archives d'histoire littéraire». D'Angleterre, d'Amérique, d'Allemagne, de Pologne viennent les appréciations les plus flatteuses, et certains romanciers anglais, certains poètes américains ont bien voulu écrire à la Revue Anglo-Américaine qu'en aucune revue de leur pays ils n'avaient trouvé une compréhension plus éclairée de leur œuvre.

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Articles to Appear Shortly

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